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Prof. N. A. Gore, M.A.  
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## EXACT DATE OF THE ADVAITASUDHĀ OF LAKṢMAṆA PAṆḌITA (A. D. 1663) AND HIS POSSIBLE IDENTITY WITH LAKṢMAṆĀRYA, THE VEDĀNTA TEACHER OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA CATURDHARA, THE COMMENTATOR OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By P. K. Gode, M.A.

My friend Mr. K. M. K. Śarma, Curator of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, has just published a note, on सारस्वताद्वैतसुधा (a Dissertation on the *Raghuvamśa* by Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita).<sup>1</sup> I note below some points from Mr. Sarma's note :—

(1) The only work of LP (= लक्ष्मणपंडित ) well-known to scholars is his commentary सारचन्द्रिका on the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*.

(2) लक्ष्मण the author of the *Yoga-Candrikā* (C. C. I., 536) and लक्ष्मण the author of सारचन्द्रिका are identical.

(3) There are two MSS of the *Yoga-Candrikā*<sup>2</sup> in the Anup Library, Bikaner (Nos. 4404 and 4405). One of these MSS viz. No. 4405 is dated *Samvat 1747* = A. D. 1690 ).

1. Vide pp. 69-72 of *Jour. of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad, Vol. II, Part I ( November, 1944 ).

2. There is a MS. of the *Yoga-Candrikā* in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute (No. 763 of 1882-83). It is called *Vaidyaka Yoga-Candrikā*. In verse 3 LP refers to his *gurus* in medicine viz. नागनाथ and नारायण as follows :—

Folio 6—“ विचक्षणानां बुधनागनाथनारायणौ तावद्द्विमानतोऽस्मि ” This MS. is dated Śaka 1778 ( = A. D. 1856 ). The MS. belonged to “ भाउ भटजी पुराणीक बोरझाईवाडीकर. ” It was copied from the original belonging to “ रामचंद्र सखाराम गीजरे. ”

(4) LP was of *Kauṇḍinya Gotra*. He was the son of Datta and Gojāmbikā.

(5) LP was the younger brother of Gaṇeśa and Raghunātha of Benares.

(6) Nāgeśa and Nārāyaṇa, his maternal uncles, were his preceptors in medical science.

(7) उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ (the author of लघुवार्तिकटीका) was his preceptor in *Advaita*.

(8) He pays his homage to रामाश्रम also. This Rāmāśrama is possibly identical with his name-sake, the son of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. If this identity is correct we get about A. D. 1650 as the upper limit for the date of LP.

(9) The lower limit for the date of LP is A. D. 1690, the date of the Bikaner MS of his *Yoga-Candrikā*.

(10) We can assign LP to the latter half of the 17th century i. e. between A. D. 1650 and 1700.

(11) There is a MS of the सारस्वताद्वैतसुधा of LP in the Anup Library, Bikaner. It is a philosophical and grammatical dissertation on the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa. The MS contains 66 folios ( $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ ) containing the commentary upto the 16th verse of Canto I.

I have now to add the following information about LP and his works as gathered by me during the course of my studies :—

(1) Mr. Sarma is correct in assigning LP to the period C. A. D. 1650–1700.

(2) There is a MS of the *Advaitasudhā* of LP in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is No. 143 of 1902–1907. In this MS we find the exact date<sup>1</sup> of composition of the *Advaita* work viz. *Samvat 1719* = A. D. 1663.

(3) LP was a contemporary of Nilakaṇṭha Caturdhara the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata* who flourished

1. The colophon of the MS. records this date :—

“ नन्देन्दुस्वरधरणी गणेषसंवत्सपान्ति गतवति विक्रमे क्रमेण ।

शुक्रेषोषितगिरिना तिथौ सुसिद्धा वामदेवीकृतितिविचुतिर्मम प्रसिद्धा ॥

The chronogram नन्द (9), इन्दु (1), स्वर (7), धरणी (1) is equal to *Samvat 1719* = A. D. 1663. I have described this MS. on pp. 260–261 of my *Cata. of Kāvya MSS.* (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XIII, Part II (1942).

at Benares between A. D. 1650 and 1700 as I have proved in several papers.

(4) The *Catalogue of Alwar Darbar MSS* by Peterson (1892) p. 19 describes a work called अद्वैतसुधाकल्प which is possibly identical with the अद्वैतसुधा (B. O. R. I. MS) and the सारस्वता-द्वैतसुधा (Bikaner MS). Peterson makes the following remarks about this Alwar MS :—

“484—अद्वैतसुधाकल्प by लक्ष्मण, son of दत्तसूरि of the कौण्डिन्यकुल and गोजा of the अत्रेयकुल of Benares. गणेश and रघुनाथ were his elder brothers and नागेश and नारायण, his uncles on the mother's side. He praises his teacher उत्तमश्लोक and रामाश्रम. दत्त's father was विश्वनाथ. Our author was a hearer of शुक्लदीक्षित's lectures and he learned तर्क from माधव and वेद from his father”.

(5) *S. R. Bhandarkar's Report on MSS* (2nd Tour—1904–1906) p. 45, describes a MS of the अद्वैतसुधा as follows :—  
“*Advaitasudhā*, a commentary on the सारस्वतोपनिषद् which is also called रघुवंश. It is by लक्ष्मणपण्डित son of...(द)त्तसूरि, an ornament of the ब्रह्मज्ञानिन् family. The author was kindly regarded by उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ महासुनि. An attempt is made therein to interpret the रघुवंश so as to yield a Vedāntic meaning”.

(6) The India Office Library contains two MSS of the (Vaidyaka) *Yoga-Candrikā* [ vide p. 982 of *I. O. Cata.* Part I by Eggeling (1896) ]. These are :—

*No. 2753*—योगचन्द्रिका a treatise on materia medica in 38 chapters by लक्ष्मणपण्डित, son of दत्त. The author studied medicine at Benares under the tuition of two brothers नागेश (नागनाथ) and नारायण and had three elder brothers गणेश, रघुनाथ and राम and a younger brother विठ्ठल.<sup>1</sup> This MS is dated Samvat 1800 (= A. D. 1744).

*No. 2754*—Do—Copied by one लम्बोदर in Samvat 1733 (= A. D. 1676). This MS is the *earliest dated MS of Vaidyakacandrikā* of LP. It is 14 years earlier than the Bikaner MS of the work copied in A. D. 1690 as pointed out by Mr. Sarma.

1. This information is gathered from the last three verses of the MS. reproduced by Eggeling.



(7) LP States in verse 10 at the end of the *Advaitasudhā* as follows :—

“ स लक्ष्मणो दक्षिणदिश्यपास्य श्रियः सदानन्दममन्दमिच्छन् ।

काश्यामुदासीनमतिः शरीरे विश्वेशसेवी समयाकरोति ॥ १० ॥”

Evidently LP was a southerner. He abandoned his property at home and becoming indifferent to the world went to Benares. LP was possibly a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin as the name of his mother viz. गोजा suggests. We must, however, get more data for proving this point conclusively.

(8) Works and authors mentioned by LP in his *Advaita-sudhā* ( B. O. R. I. MS No. 143 of 1902-1907 ) are :—

विश्व, अमर, याज्ञवल्क्यवचनव्याख्या, कामधेनौ, सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण-  
व्याख्याता, अमरचन्द्र, विवरणाचार्यचरणाः, मालविकाग्निमित्रे, मेदिनी, काव्य-  
प्रकाश, चित्रमीमांसा, कैयटे, वेदनिघंटौ, एकाक्षरनाममाला, सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे  
भोजराजः, बृहदारण्यक, वंशब्राह्मण, केशव, वार्त्तिककारपादाः, जाबालश्रुति,  
कौर्म, ईश्वरगीता, शारीरकभाष्य, मनु, याज्ञवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर, संक्षेपशारीरक,  
नानार्थरत्नमाला, नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धेः, वार्त्तिकसारे, श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत्, विश्वप्रकाशे,  
बृहदारण्यकभाष्ये, वोपालित, किरातार्जुनीये, भट्टि, गीताभाष्ये, विष्णुपुराण,  
पाणिनीये, श्लोकवार्त्तिककार, न्यायरत्नाकर, शाबरभाष्यवृत्ति, उत्तमश्लोक, वाग्भटे,  
सुश्रुत, डल्हण, रत्नमाला, माधव, हरदत्त, नाममाला, भागवते, महाभारते,  
बालरामायणे, ऋग्वेदभाष्ये, भोजेन, श्रीहर्ष, अमरक, आत्मपुराणे, प्रबोधचंद्रोदये,  
दशरूपक, विक्रमोर्वशीय, गौडपाद, उपदेशसहस्र्यां भगवत्पादैः, मोक्षधर्मे,  
अद्वैतमकरन्द, चक्रदत्त, मुरारि, पातंजलमहाभाष्यकार, चरक, राघवपाण्डवीये,  
वाजसनेयके, तैत्तिरीयभाष्ये, अग्निपुराणे, हेमाद्रौ, कूर्मपुराण, राघवानन्द, व्याख्या-  
तारः सर्वज्ञनारायणादयः, पराशरमाधवीय, विश्वादर्श, जैमिनीये, नानार्थकोष,  
‘भामतीनिबंधे, शब्दकौस्तुभे, विश्वशंभु, आनंदगिरि, नृसिंहाश्रम, कल्पतरुकार,  
न्यायसूत्रकाराः, खंडनकारैः, सांख्याः, सर्वज्ञात्मगुरवः, माधवाचार्य, पराशरस्मृति,  
इष्टसिद्धि, नारदादि स्मृति, स्कान्दे, योगीश्वरोक्तं, दक्ष, पारमर्षसूत्रे, वात्स्यायन,  
“ श्रीवीरभद्रकृतया वात्स्यायनसूत्रतत्त्वासंकथया ”, सौगतमतं, तोटकाचार्यैः  
सार्वभौमप्रण्ये, भविष्यत्पुराणे, उदयनाचार्यैः, हर्षमिश्र, प्रश्नोपनिषद्भाष्य, गारुडे,  
श्रीकंठाचार्य, मध्वमुखमर्दन, शिवाद्वैतविनिर्णय, अद्वैतसिद्धौ, आनन्दतीर्थ,  
उत्कलाचार्य, नृसिंहमिश्र, विद्यारण्यगुरुभिः, शास्त्रदर्पणे, अनुक्रमणिकाकाराः,  
वृत्तिकारो हलायुधः, भर्तृहरि, भट्ट सोमेश्वर, वाक्यपदीयव्याख्यातारः, संगीत-  
रत्नाकर, शाङ्गधराचार्यः, जयदेव, स्वात्मयोगप्रदीपिका, अभिनवगुप्त, रत्नेश्वर,

दंडिना, भवभूति, कृष्णमिश्र, रामचन्द्रसरस्वती, मुरारिमिश्र, भट्टिकाव्य, बिल्व-  
मंगल, गोविंदराज, राजशेखर, भट्टबाण, रायमुकुट, अंबुलालकर रामचन्द्रभट्टानाम्,  
विश्वादर्श कविकान्तसरस्वतीनाम्, ब्राह्मपुराणे, बृहन्नारदीये, मार्कण्डेये, ईश्वरगीता,  
शिवगीता, वासिष्ठ, भगवद्गीता, पंचपादिका, भट्टभास्कर, आत्मगीता, खंडनकृत,  
अथर्वशिखा, आश्वमेधिके, उत्तररामायणे, एकाक्षररत्नमाला, धरणि, गर्भोपनिषद्,  
“सर्वारम्भपरित्यागीस्वरूपैकाग्रसंस्थितः । उग्र इत्येवविख्यातो महाराष्ट्रा-  
दिभाषया ॥”, “महार्घत्वादिनानूमतिदुर्लभदर्शनं । प्रियमित्येवकर्णोदभाषया-  
व्यपदिश्यते ॥” (folio 18 of Kalāpa. III), आपस्तंब, हरिणा, गणरत्न,  
देशीकोशः, आपस्तंबाचार्य, विष्णुधर्मोत्तरात्, वादरायण, गौडपादीयभाष्य,  
भगवान् भाष्यकारः, शाश्वतः, मुंडक, भगवत्पाद, ब्रह्मपुराणे, ब्राह्मणगीता,  
मार्कण्डेयपुराण, तत्त्वप्रदीपिका, चिन्सुखाचार्य, ज्ञानसिद्धिकृता, न्यायसुधा, आचार्य-  
वाचस्पतिमिश्रैः, वासिष्ठे, माधवादिनिबन्धेषु, वार्त्तिकसारे, भागवत-एकादश-  
स्कन्ध, सोमनाथपंडितैः, कविकल्पद्रुम, शब्दकौस्तुभे हरदत्तः, वसिष्ठः, अनुगीता,  
विवरणोक्तेः, कामधेनौ कण्ठाभरणव्याख्यानात्, वोपदेव, नारायणसरस्वत्यादि  
गौडवेदान्तिग्रन्थेषु शारीरकवार्त्तिकादिषु, शिवपुराण, अखण्डानंद, योगाचार्य-  
वार्षगर्ण्य, सुरेश्वराचार्य, अद्वैतदीपिका, उपदेशसहस्र्याम्, प्रश्नोपनिषन्मुंडक-  
मांडुक्योत्तरतापनीयादि, ब्रह्माद्वैतिश्रीकृष्णमिश्रैः, कैवल्यकेनोपनिषदादि, शिवतत्त्व-  
विवेक, पूर्वतापनीयोपनिषद्, महोपनिषद्, सर्वज्ञात्मगुरुक्तेः.

The foregoing list of works and authors mentioned by LP has been made by me cursorily but it is sufficient to prove the wide range of study carried on by LP at Benares. In fact LP shows familiarity with practically all branches of Sanskrit learning. We must, therefore, investigate and see if he composed any other works besides the अद्वैतसुधा, योगचन्द्रिका and सारचन्द्रिका referred to above.

(9) The genealogy of LP may be represented as follows :-

विश्वनाथ ( of ब्रह्मज्ञानि family कौण्डिन्य गोत्र )

↓  
दत्त

(married गोत्रा of आश्वेय गोत्र. Her brothers :- नारेश and नारायण)

↓  
गणेश    रघुनाथ    राम    लक्ष्मण    विठ्ठल

(A.D. 1663)

(10) The chronology of the works of LP and their extant MSS as discussed in the present paper is as follows :—

A. D. 1560-1620—Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita flourished at Benares.

LP mentions Bhaṭṭoji's शब्दकौस्तुभ in अद्वैतसुधा.

„ 1550-1600—Appaya Dikṣita flourished at Benares.

LP mentions चित्रमीमांसा and other works of Appaya Dikṣita in अद्वैतसुधा.

„ 1663—LP composed his अद्वैतसुधा at Benares.

„ 1676—India Office MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP.

„ 1690—Bikaner MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP.

„ 1743—India Office MS of the योगचन्द्रिका of LP.

„ 1856—B. O. R. Institute MS of the अद्वैतसुधा of LP.

(11) Aufrecht ( CC I, 536 ) refers to one namesake of LP in the following entry :—

“लक्ष्मणभट्ट perhaps the guru of नीलकण्ठ ( भारतभावदीपिका ) (composed) महाभारतटीका”.

Cf. CC I, 439—“महाभारतटीका by लक्ष्मणभट्ट (Burnell 148<sup>a</sup>) MS mentioned by Aufrecht as “Burnell 184<sup>a</sup>” is identical with MS No. 8660 of *Tanjore Des. Catalogue*, Vol. XV, p. 6485.

This is a MS of विराटपर्वप्रकाश of लक्ष्मणभट्ट and it is dated Śaka 1589 = A. D. 1667.

I find it difficult to accept Aufrecht's suggested identity of this लक्ष्मणभट्ट with लक्ष्मणार्य<sup>1</sup> mentioned by नीलकण्ठ चतुर्थर as his guru in Vedānta in the following verses :—

“वेदान्ते लक्ष्मणार्यं ऋतुविधिविवृतौ तीर्थनारायणार्यं

तर्के धीरेशमिश्रं फणिपतिभणितौ पोलगङ्गाधरार्यम् ।

वेदे साङ्गे पितृव्यं शिवमथ पितरं दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ

श्रौते चिन्तामणिर्यः शरणमुपगतो भूम्नि गोपालवेदम् ॥”

I am, however, inclined to suggest that लक्ष्मणार्य<sup>1</sup> mentioned by नीलकण्ठ as his guru in Vedānta in the above stanza is possibly identical with लक्ष्मणपंडित, the author of the अद्वैतसुधा, who was a senior contemporary of नीलकण्ठ चतुर्थर at Benares say between A. D. 1630 and 1675. We have seen already that लक्ष्मणपंडित constantly refers to his guru उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ in his अद्वैतसुधा. नीलकण्ठ

1. Vide *Mīmāṃsā Prakāśa*, Poona, April 1938, page 69—my article on Nārāyaṇatīrtha, the guru of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara in *Mīmāṃsā*.

चतुर्थर also refers to (1) his Vedānta teacher लक्ष्मणार्य and (2) उत्तम-श्लोकतीर्थ in the following stanzas of his रुद्रसारसंग्रहव्याख्या:—

“ गोपालं भूम्नि वेदे शिवमथविनये दक्षिणामूर्त्युपास्तौ  
वेदान्ते लक्ष्मणार्यं क्रतुविधिविवृतौ तीर्थनारायणार्यम् ।  
तर्के धीरेशमिश्रान् फणिपतिभणितौ पोलगङ्गाधरार्यम्  
श्रौते चिंतामणिं गुरुमकृतं कृतिं तस्य सन्तः पुनन्तु ॥  
उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थाब्धिलब्धसद्युक्तमौक्तिकैः ।  
खचिता रुद्रसूक्तस्य द्योततां धीमतां हृदि ॥ ”<sup>1</sup>

I may also point out that लक्ष्मणभट्ट, the author of विराटपर्व-प्रकाश (MS of A. D. 1667), styles himself as “ श्रीभट्टभट्टात्मज-शाण्डिल्य लक्ष्मण etc.” He is, therefore, different from लक्ष्मणपंडित the son of गोजा and दत्त and the author of the अद्वैतसुधा.

I hope the information about LP, the author of the *Advaita-sudhā*, recorded by me in this paper will enable other scholars to study his works more closely than they have done hitherto. In particular I would invite definite evidence from such scholars on the following points :—

(1) My suggested identity of LP with लक्ष्मणार्य mentioned by Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara as his guru in Vedānta.

(2) Any more information about LP than what is recorded by me above, especially about his descendants and the *Brahma-jñāni* family of *Kaunḍinya Gotra* to which he belonged.

(3) Exact dates of composition of the works of LP other than the *Advaitasudhā* composed in A. D. 1663.

(4) Was LP a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin? If so, can we get any information about his migration to Benares from the Maratha sources? LP definitely states that he abandoned his property in the South and went to Benares (दक्षिणदिशि श्रियः अपास्य काश्यामुदासीनमतिः शरीरे etc.)

(5) Can we get any more historical information about the contact of LP with his gurus उत्तमश्लोकतीर्थ and रामाश्रम,<sup>2</sup> mentioned as मुनिद्वय in the अद्वैतसुधा?

1. Ibid.

2. Vide my paper in the *Prācyavāṇi*, Calcutta, 1944 on “A Critical survey of the Name-sakes of Rāmāśrama (Between A. D. 1600 and 1677) ”.

# BRAHMA-ĀKĀŚA EQUATION\*

By Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.M., Bombay

## Introductory

The Ākāśādhikaraṇa in the *Brahmasūtra*<sup>1</sup> has been explained by Śaṅkara and his followers to mean that one of the alternative terms by which Brahman has been referred to in the Vedāntas is *Ākāśa*. Since when Brahman became equated with *Ākāśa*, since when it ceased to be equated with it and whether in the post-Śaṅkara philosophy of the Advaita School, there is any other formula based upon that equation, are interesting points for investigation. Having done that I sum up the result thereof in the following few lines.

### I. *Meaning of the Equation and Time of its Origin*

\* Brahman is the accepted designation of that intelligent entity which is the cause of the creation, sustenance and destruction of this phenomenal world. It is obvious therefore that it cannot be the Absolute or Pure but the Relative or Śābala Brahman. The other term 'Ākāśa' is ordinarily employed to designate the sky or ether, which is the first of the 5 elements forming the materials from which the universe was created or evolved. But Śaṅkara supporting the view of Bādarāyaṇa as contained in the said Adhikaraṇa says that there are passages in the Vedic literature wherein that term must be deemed to have been used to designate Brahman in its relation to the universe, and that there it has a special meaning because the ordinary one is either inconsistent with the context or because some special characteristic thereof, which does not pertain to the element but to Brahman, has been mentioned.

The earliest text which he cites in support of his view is :—  
ऋचोऽक्षरे परमे व्योमन्यस्मिन्देवा अधिविश्वे निषेदुः । यस्तन्नवेद किं ऋचा करिष्यति  
य इत्तद्विदुस्त इमे समासते ।<sup>2</sup>

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\* Summary of a paper read in the Indian Philosophy Section of the XIXth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Lucknow, in December 1944.

1. *Brahmasūtra* I. 1. 22.

2. *R̥gveda Saṁhitā* I, 22, 164. 39. The substance of this Mantra is that the purport of the *R̥gveda* Mantras lies in the *Akśara*, the *Parama*

This text occurs in the first Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda, which is one of those believed to contain Sūktas which were composed in the early part of the Vedic age and therein the Ākṣara *i.e.* Brahman in relation to the universe has been equated with the Parama Vyoma ( the highest sky ) which must be a subtle form of Ākāśa, not visible to the physical eye like the sky over our heads. It is called Ākāśa not because it is the space in which the celestial luminaries shine ( आ समन्तात्काशन्ते सूर्यादयो यत्र ) but because it is the entity which shines everywhere *i. e.* becomes manifest by its own effulgence ( आ समन्तात्काशते यत् ).

The origin however of the equation in this sense goes back to an age considerably earlier than the date of the said Sūkta because the Bhṛguvalli of the *Taitirīya Upaniṣad* narrates the tradition that the knowledge of Brahman as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe had been originally revealed by God Varuṇa to his said son Bhṛgu Vāruṇī and that this Vidyā is known as the *Bhārgavī Vāruṇī Vidyā* and has its seat in the Parama Vyoma,<sup>1</sup> and because according to the *Bhagavadgītā*,<sup>2</sup> Bhṛgu was one of the seven great Ṛṣis who and the four Manus were the Mānasaputras of Brahman and the earliest Bhārgava sages who lived in the Vedic age namely, Ṛcika and Jamadagni, were removed from him by 29 and 30 generations.<sup>3</sup> It must be noted here that the conclusion which

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Vyoma in which the gods have their dwelling ; what can the Mantras do for him who does not know it ? Those who do know it rest therein in peace. The whole of Sūkta 164 embodies the views of the Vedic poet as to the relation between the Jivātman and the Paramātman and those between each of them and the universe. The word Parama Vyoman ( loc. sing. ) occurs in Mantra 41...thereof also and the word Parama Vyoma ( nom. sing. ) in Mantras 34 and 35 thereof.

1. Taittirīya Upaniṣad III. 1-6. When it is said that Bhṛgu had approached Varuṇa and acquired this knowledge we have to understand that he had by deep concentration on Varuṇa, the upholder of the Rta, attained communion with that deity and had in the state of trance heard the God, objectified from the time being, telling him that Brahman was the cause of the creation &c. of the created beings and that he had thereafter come to know the true meaning of that mystic formula after a good deal of contemplation and self-denial.

2. X. 4. 25.

3. Pargiter, *AIHT*. pp. 191-92.

Bhṛgu had arrived at after considerable effort was that Brahman was of the nature of Ānanda.

## II. *Its Amplification in the Upaniṣad Age*

This is only one aspect of Brahman in which it can be realised in the world of empirical experience. But there are two others as well, as can be seen from the statement in another book of the same *Upaniṣad* called *Brahmānandavalli* namely :— सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म<sup>1</sup> ! Therein Ānantya (infiniteness) is the aspect of Brahman from the cosmic viewpoint, corresponding to the Ānandatva from that of the individual while Satyatva and Jñānatva are the two additional aspects. The same text also goes on to state that a human being who knows it as located in the cave (of the heart) reaps the fulfilment of all desires with the intelligent Brahman. Here in place of the term 'Parama Vyoma' we find the word 'Guhā' because though it is not possible for an embodied soul to repair physically to the former, he can, by retiring consciously into the cave of the heart, as he does unconsciously in deep sleep, realise Brahman. This implies that both must be essentially the same. Moreover the joy or bliss which one experiences on the attainment of that state of conscious abstraction is a thousand-fold more enjoyable than that experienced by a king or an exceedingly rich man with all comforts and external sources of amusement at his disposal. These points are made clear in *many other Upaniṣad texts*,<sup>2</sup> which unfortunately I cannot quote and explain separately.

Summing up the result of the investigation into the achievement of the early Upaniṣad sages, we find that they had found out the complete formula of the Akṣara Brahma-Yogavidyā and that it was this :—What is to be known for the purpose of the perfection of the human soul is Brahman, the primary cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the worldly phenomena, whose objective experience to even the ordinary mortals can be summed up in the three words *Satya* (Existence), *Jñāna* (Knowledge) and *Ananta* (Infiniteness), all three of which become manifest in individual objects, as *Ākāśa*

1. Tai. Upa. II. 1.

2. Chā. Upa. III. 12. 7-9; 14. 2-4; VIII. 1. 1; 14. 1; Br. Ā. Up. III. 1-9; IV. 3. 32-34; 4. 3; Muñ. Upa. II. 2-7; Śve. Upa. IV. 8.

meaning light or power of self-manifestation. In order that Brahman, not as the sum total of empirical experience but as the transcendant eternal reality, can be realised in all its glory one must concentrate one's attention purely on one's inner self, which though apparently limited is virtually and essentially identical with Brahman and whose seat is in the cave (Ākāśa) of the heart, the inner light which enables the self to be the witness of the movements of the empirical self besides getting experience of the external objects. As the result of this realisation one experiences joy or bliss (Ānanda) which exceeds even that experienced by a King or the richest man, by a disembodied soul or even by a god who never had any physical embodiment, and attains perfection *i. e. to say*, the fulfilment of all desires just like Brahman.

### III. *Its Disregard in the Epic Age*

A comparison of the texts of the early and middle parts of the Upaniṣad age shows that in the latter itself the theory of the five elements, of which the first was Ākāśa (space or ether), had began to be a definite portion of the theory of evolution. In view of that the equation of Brahman with Ākāśa, even when understood in another sense, was likely to create a confusion. Hence it is that though the author of the *Gītā* has given to the method of self-realisation as developed in the Upaniṣad age its proper place<sup>1</sup> even while repeatedly saying that there is an easier way for achieving the same end, he has ignored the view that Brahman is of the nature of Ākāśa and used the latter word everywhere in the sense of the first element only.<sup>2</sup>

### IV. *Its Revival in the Sūtra Age*

But Bādarāyaṇa could not afford to ignore it because he had set to himself the task of establishing a school independently of the Mīmāṃsakas on bringing about a harmony between the different Upaniṣad texts bearing on the same topic. Hence the inclusion of the Ākāśādhikaraṇa in the *Brahmasūtra* as above stated. What it means and implies according to Śaṅkara and his followers has already been made clear.

1. B. G. IV. 33. 42 ; VI. 10. 32 ; VIII. 1-28 ; XII. 3-5, 9.

2. Op. Cit. I. 19. ; VII. 4. 8 ; IX. 6 ; XI. 24 ; XIII. 32.



### V. *Its Development in the Post-Brahmasūtra Age*

The *Brahmasūtra* purports to impart knowledge of Brahman as the source of this universe &c., on the authority of the principal Upaniṣads. The *Māṇḍukyakārikā* of Gauḍapāda on the other hand denies the very existence of the universe, though admitting the existence of Brahman, which is there the Absolute.<sup>1</sup> But even there the fact that we do have the experience of the phenomenal world has not been ignored and while taking note of it, the author has adopted the view that Brahman is of the nature of Ākāśa and placed that experience on a par with that in the state of dreaming wherein numerous objects are temporarily created by the Jīvātman and objectively experienced in the cavity of the heart, which is of the nature of the Paramā Vyoma according to the Upaniṣads.<sup>2</sup> In doing so he developed the individualistic side only of the equation.

That development however pales into insignificance before the development of both the cosmic and individualistic sides thereof to their fullest extent possible made in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, which in its present form is most probably the work of a Kāśmīrian Paṇḍit of the Trika School living about the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 10th century A. D.<sup>3</sup> Although it does not discard the original terms 'Brahman' and 'Ātman' used for the supreme and individual souls in the scientific treatises, whenever it has to explain the whole or any part of its theologico-philosophical doctrine it employs the term 'Cid' to designate the Absolute and the term 'Cidākāśa' and its synonyms 'Cidāmbara', 'Citkha', 'Cinnabha', 'Cidvyoma' &c., to designate the first manifestation thereof, which alone exists in various intangible and tangible forms.<sup>4</sup> Moreover all the numerous forms in which the Cidākāśa is found to have become

1. See the *Ajativāda* set forth in Gau. Kā. III. 20-30, 48 and the refutation of the Bāhyārtha and other Vādas current in the time of its composition in Gau. Kā. IV. 3-4; 20-23; 24-27, 28.

2. Op. Cit. I. 2; II. 1-16, 31; III. 3-9; IV. 1, 29-41.

3. See my paper on the *Date and Place of Origin of the Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the Report of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933, at pp. 15-30.

4. The places where this has been done between Prakaraṇas III to VI/2 are so many that it is not possible to cite them here.

manifest as experienced not only in the Jāgrat but also in the Svapna, and Savikalpa Samādhi states, the order in which they become manifest, that in which they are respectively absorbed, the nature and durability of each form and several other points of a cognate nature have been elaborately explained and discussed partly in the episodes of the Ākāśaja and the Khottha and fully in that of the Pāṣāṇa.<sup>1</sup> In the last the author takes occasion to distinguish between the different kinds of Ākāśa through which the soul of the sage Vasiṣṭha had passed in its quest for the knowledge of the Eternal One. Lastly, in a passage in the episode of King Vipāścit<sup>2</sup> a powerful plea is put forward for looking upon the Parama Vyoma as the *de facto* Īśvara.

Vidyāranya, the learned author of the last 5 Chapters on the philosophy of Ānanda in the *Pañcadaśī* and the sole author of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* has incorporated in the former the result of his exhaustive analytical study of the Ānantya-aspect of Brahman and the Ānanda-aspect of the Ātman as expounded in the earlier *Upaniṣad* and a later one named the *Uttaratāpanīya*, the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Śaiva Purāṇa*. According to him all the three aspects mentioned in the *Tāittirīya text* above quoted can be summed up in one word *Saccidānanda*, coined by the author of the later Śaivite Upaniṣad, it is in that form that the Parā Śakti of Brahman becomes manifest in all the different objects of the empirical world, though their names and dimensional forms differ, and therefore one with a sense of discrimination can realise Brahman as *Saccidānanda* even while living in society and engaged in the discharge of one's social duties. This is the contribution of that great and most probably the last independent thinker of the Advaita School to the interpretation and development of the Brahma-Ākāśa equation.

1. Y. V. III. 2 ; IV. 52 ; VI|2. 56-95 respectively. Both the terms Ākāśaja and Khottha mean the first entity called the Hiraṇyagarbha literally meaning 'the golden foetus'. The Pāṣāṇa is a metaphorical name of the Avyākṛta (the Unmanifest).

2. Op. Cit. VI|2. 116. 24-28.

## DHARMAPRADĪPA OF NARAHARI

By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma

Dharmapradīpa of Narahari, son of Puruṣottama is a rare work on Dharmaśāstra. Neither Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* nor MM. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* mentions this author. Aufrecht (C. C. I, p. 269) mentions a Dharmapradīpa by a son of Panicambala Puruṣottama. Obviously it is this work. Prof. Kane also notices a Dharmapradīpa mentioned in such works as the *Kālādarśa*. In view of the early date of this work and the later date of other works of this name, we may presume that the reference in *Kālādarśa* etc. is to this work. There is a MS of the work in the Anup Sanskrit Library (No. 2444). The beginning of the work is missing here. The MS ends as follows :

लोके विलोक्य पापाण्डितमसा कवलीकृतम् ।

प्रज्ञाभावघनच्छन्नं श्रुतिस्मृत्यर्थभास्करम् ॥

इति श्रीसकलधर्मशास्त्रादुद्धृत्य विरचिते धर्मप्रदीपे पुरुषोत्तमसूनुनरहरि-  
पण्डितेन विरचिते प्रायश्चित्ताध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ शुभं भूयात् ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥

लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भवतु ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीशक १३७३ वर्षे प्रजापतिसंवत्सरे माघमासे सुध सप्तमी वरु...॥

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया ।

अबद्धं वा सुबद्धं वा मम दोषो न लिप्यते ॥

विष्णुभट्टसुत वा.....पुस्तकं लिख्यते परोपकारार्थम् । शुभं भूयात् ॥

There are one hundred folios with eleven lines per page and twenty-four syllables per line of bold Devanāgarī. The MS is slightly injured, worn and discoloured. The date of the MS is Śaka 1373 i.e. A.D. 1451. In view of this we can assume that the work is earlier than the fifteenth century. The contents of the work are as follows :—

Dharmaprasaṁsā, Yuga-dharma, Varṇadharma, Upanayana Kālātikramaprāyaścitta, Pravarānirṇaya, Āhnika, Śaucavidhi, Darbhavidhi, Mudrā, Snānavidhi, Tilakavidhi, Vaiśvadevavidhi, Homavidhi, Kuṇḍalakṣaṇa, Dānalakṣaṇa, Pañcayajña, Bhojana-vidhi, Pañcagavya, Aparāhṇakārya, Abhojyabrāhmaṇa, Bhojya-brāhmaṇa, Dravya, Yajamānaniyama, Brāhmaṇaniyama, Pārvaṇa, Vrata, Tithi, Ekādaśī, Malamāsa, Tirtha, Spr̥śyāspr̥śya, Dravya-suddhi and Prāyaścitta.

## THE EARLIEST DATED MS OF KAMALĀKARA'S WORK

By K. M. K. Sarma

In the previous number of the Poona Orientalist I have noticed a rare work of Kamalākara, *viz.* the Vedāntakautūhala. Prof. Kane in his History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. I, p. 437, has assigned his literary activity to the period between 1610 and 1640 A.D. One of the evidences given by Prof. Kane is a MS of the Tattavakamlākara dated 1638 A.D. Probably this is the earliest dated MS of Kamalākara's work now known to scholars. A MS of the Nirṇayasindhu twenty years earlier than this is available in the Anup Sanskrit Library (No. 2464). In all probability this is the earliest dated MS of a work of this great author now known to us. This is dated at the end Saṁvat 1675 *i. e.* A.D. 1618 and was copied by Mohana Kāyastha, 'son of Keśava.

## A PHASE OF THE NORTH-INDIAN POLICY OF THE MARATHAS

By G. H. Khare, Curator, B. I. S. Mandala, Poona

In the 17th century of the Christian era, the Marathas under the leadership of Shivājī, the Great, rose up against the foreign Muhammadan domination in Mahārāṣṭra and the rising resulted in a kingdom of their own under the same great man. The newly founded kingdom was, however, eclipsed by Aurangzēb during his Deccan campaign ; but by the time of his death the Marathas had regained their strength and after consolidating their own kingdom, founded an empire and carried their arms right upto Peshawar and Calcutta. After the disaster of Pāniṇat, their power began to wane and was practically eclipsed by the British in the first decade of the 19th century. During all this time they had entertained certain ambitions or aspirations. They indeed wanted money to pay off the heavy debts incurred in perennial expeditions and campaigns conducted by them in the North as well as in the South with the hope of the upheaval of the Hindu religion as their natural consequence. They tried to raise this money in which attempt, however, they failed as they did not even wish to follow the path of getting it shown by Nādirshāh and Aḥmadshāh Abdālī. But far superior to this aim they had an aspiration to achieve which they tried their best during their supremacy. It was to bring the holy places of Hindu pilgrimage in North India under their control. I wish to detail upon this aspect here.

Among the Hindus Prayāga ( Allahābād ), Benares and Gayā are looked upon as the holiest places of pilgrimage which every Hindu must visit at least once in his life. But for centuries these places were under the Muhammadan rule owing to which the Hindu pilgrims had to suffer a number of inconveniences by way of pilgrim taxes etc. and besides that they had to see with open eyes several temples, *tīrthas*, holy places etc. being daily demolished and polluted by the Muhammadans, and *mosques*, *dargahs* etc. erected in their stead. This condition began to worsen after the regime of the third Mughal emperor Jahāngīr and reached its climax in Aurangzēb's time. It was

he who as a policy deliberately demolished several temples of importance, such as Keśavadeva of Mathura, Viśvanātha of Benares, etc. After him though the Mughal power began to decline gradually, there was practically no abatement in the conditions of the holy places.

The Marathas as the followers of the Hindu religion naturally felt more and more for this wretched condition of the holy places as they were achieving more and more success in political spheres and began to express boldly their aspirations in this connection.

In a narrative of Shivājī, the Great, it is stated that when he visited Golconda and was honoured by an interview with the Sultan of that place, the Sultan presented him the *pan* (betel leaves) at the end of the interview. He, however, refused that honour and plainly expressed that he would not accept it until he had relieved Benares from under the yoke of Aurangzēb and restored the temple of Viśvanātha, which was molested by the latter a few years ago. In this interview he is also said to have asked for the assistance of both the Bijapur and Golconda Sultans for overthrowing Aurangzēb.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the writer of this narrative is not a contemporary one. But it shows how the writer interpreted the mission of that great man's life and as such it has much intrinsic value indicating how the common people with historical insight viewed that great man's actions.

Sambhājī, the Intrepid, the son of Shivājī, the Great, had also aimed at overpowering Aurangzēb and rebuilding the temples etc., (at Benares and other places) molested by Muhammadans as is evident from his letter to Rāmasimha, the son Jayasimha of Amber.<sup>2</sup>

It is doubtful whether Rājārama, the son of Shivājī, the Great, actually ever crossed the Narmadā or not. But in the *Ajñāpatra* or the *Royal Edict* which is traditionally ascribed to Rāmachandrapanta Amātya, the ablest administrator under

1. Article 78 of the narrative of 91 articles (Ekyāṇṇava Qalami Bakhar) published in Bhāratavarṣa vol. I.

2. Marāṭhyāñchyā Rājyakathā p. 65.

Rājārāma, it is stated that the latter (Rājārāma) had already crossed the Narmadā, and after conquering several cities and provinces in the North in a short period, would surely visit Benares and reinstate the god Viśveśvara in its original place.<sup>1</sup> This statement at least shows, if not anything else, what Rājārāma had aimed at. It can also be shown that two of Rājārāma's generals had actually crossed the Narmadā<sup>2</sup> and had raided Sironj in Malwa and there was at least one enterprising general who felt so confident as to make an agreement with Rājārāma of conquering Delhi and other places in the North.<sup>3</sup> Thus it will be apparent that what Rāmachandrapanta Amātya stated contained much truth in it and Rājārāma must have aimed at liberating Benares and other places from the yoke of Muhammadans.

Bājājī Viśvanātha, the first Peshwā had visited Benares and other places of Hindu pilgrimage after finishing his work at Delhi in 1719 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and actually seen with his own eyes to what wretched condition the places had been reduced in the Muhammadan regime. He must have entertained some ideas of freeing those places from Muhammadan possession though no direct evidence to that effect has come to light as yet.

In a document of circa 1736 A.D., which purports to give the demands of Bājirāo I, on the satisfaction of which he wished to enter into an agreement of assistance with the Mughal emperor Muḥammadshāh, there is one demand which states that Bājirāo I certainly wanted to have Prayāga, Benares, Gayā and Mathurā, four of the holy places as *jāgīr* to himself. For what other purpose could this demand have been made if not for bringing those holy places under Hindu control? It was not of course conceded to; but it evidently proves what Bājirāo I aimed at.<sup>5</sup>

1. Ajñāpatra ( Marathi ) p. 8 or Royal Edict ( English ) p. 13.
2. Śivacharitrpradīpa p. 67.
3. Śivacharitrasāhitya vol. V, p. 10.
4. Selections from the Satara Rājās and the Peshwās Diaries, vol. III, p. 115.
5. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar ( SPD ), vol. XV, no. 86, p. 96.

There are three unpublished documents deposited in the B. I. S. Mandala of which one is written by Chimañājī Ballālā, the younger brother of Bājirāo I and the other two by Balājī Bājirāo, the son of Bājirāo I and the third Peshwā, within some months after the demise of the latter. The first expressly mentions that Bājirāo's most favourite aspiration was to restore the temples of Viśveśvara etc. at Benares and other holy places. This ambition of Bājirāo I has been reiterated in the other two letters with the addition that the Nizām Āṣaf Jāh I, who was at this time very anxious to secure help from the Peshwā against his rebel son Nāṣirjang showed his willingness to mediate for abolishing the pilgrim tax at Prayāga and granting Benares as *jāgir* to the Peshwā. In the third letter Balājī Bājirāo has professed that it was his father's aspiration to liberate Prayāga, Benares and other holy places from the Muhammiadan yoke and prohibit cow-slaughter in general and that he also entertained the same object.<sup>1</sup>

But towards this end he could do nothing till 1751 A.D. in which year, however, the Marathas got an opportunity to push their aim forward. In 1750 A.D. Ṣafdarjang, the *vazir* of the declining Mughal empire, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Ruhelas and the Afghans in the Ganges-Jamna delta and there was no other way left open to him to annihilate them except by begging help from the Marathas. Shinde and Holkar, the two Maratha generals, who had very recently come to terms with the Rājputs, were now free to turn their arms to any province and it was solely due to Maratha valour that the Ruhelas and the Afghans were reduced to a very deplorable state and driven far away beyond the Ganges. As a reward for this opportune and invaluable help, the Marathas indeed got some pecuniary advantages. But they were not satisfied with mere money. They were anxious to bring under their own control the two holy places Prayāga and Benares which were at that time included in the *subah* governed by Ṣafdarjang. Both the generals pressed their demand persistently whereupon Ṣafdar-

1. Documents acquired by me from the descendants of the Peshwas' agents at Delhi nos. 1192, 1190, 1182 dated 2-6-1740, 26-1-1741 and 26-2-1741 A.D. respectively.



jang yielded and himself granted the *sanads* and persuaded the emperor to grant a *farman* for the two places to the Marathas.<sup>1</sup> Holkar even wished to demolish the mosque erected on the site of the Viśvanātha temple at Benares and reerect the temple in its stead by force ; but some how gave up his intention.<sup>2</sup> The Marathas tried to realise what they got by the *farman* and the *sanads* ; but soon the times changed. Šafdarjang turned a rebel and the Marathas sided with Ghāzī-ud-dīn II and his patron the emperor. They could not, therefore, wield the power given to them over the two places easily. They soon came to know that nothing could be done without using force. They wished to do that also ; but owing to other more pressing needs, they had to divert their attention to other matter.<sup>3</sup> The question, therefore, remained in abeyance till 1758 A.D. In the meanwhile, however, Raghunātharāo, the younger brother of the third Peshwā, during his first North Indian expedition persuaded the new emperor, when at Delhi, got from him *sanads* for the administration of Kurukṣetra and Gayā and an order was passed to allow free access to pilgrims intending to visit the above places.<sup>4</sup> In 1758 A.D. the Marathas occupied the whole of the Panjab and were at the height of their glory. At this time they again attempted to achieve their heart's aspiration. They tried hard to have Benares, Ayodhyā and Allahābād ceded to them from Shujā-ud-daula in whose administrative province the places were included. They were even willing to make him *vazīr* or give him one half Bengal provided the places were given in their possession.<sup>5</sup> Here again they found that use of force was the only effective remedy which, however,

1. Marāṭhyañchyā Itihāsāchām Sāadhanem ( MIS ) vol. III, no. 383 A ; Sindeshāhī Itihāsāchām Sāadhanem ( SIS ) vol. I, no. 90 ; Aitihāsika Patrem Yādi Vagaire, new edition ( APYV ). no. 364.

2. MIS vol. III, no. 397. The date ascribed to this document here seems to be wrong. The document must be relegated to the year 1751 A.D., wherefore the date would be 18-6-1751 A.D.

3. MIS vol. I, nos. 29,31,33,37,44,45.

4. Selections from the Satara Rājās and the Peshwās' diaries vol. III, p. 153 ; MIS vol. VI, no. 328.

5. SPD vol. II, nos. 99,104 ; vol. XXI, no. 163 ; APYV nos. 165,166, 167,171.

they could not do owing to the *Pānīpat* disaster, its antecedents and after-effects.<sup>1</sup> Still it can be easily shown that Bālājī Bājirāo was quite persistent in his object of possessing the places right upto his death.<sup>2</sup>

Mādhavarāo, the elder, the fourth Peshwā, could not pay attention to the North-Indian affairs for a very long time. But in the latter part of his life when the North-Indian expedition was arranged by him he seems to have ordered his generals about the occupation of Prayāga and Benares by the Marathas.<sup>3</sup> Now if it be true, as remarked by that great Persian poet Firdausī, that truth stands at the lips of dying men, we must confess that both Bālājī Bājirāo and Mādhavarāo, the elder, were quite anxious to have possession over the holy places even at a big price as is evident from the latter's will drafted about a month and a half before his death.<sup>4</sup>

After the untimely decease of the young and wise Peshwā Mādhavarāo, the Marathas could not do anything in this matter for about fifteen years owing to the discentions at home. But from about 1786 A.D. onwards when Nānā Faḍnīs and Mahādājī Shinde became the absolute masters of the situation at Poona and Delhi, the former began to press the latter to bring the various places under Maratha control and in about four years time Mathurā, Brindāban, Nandagao, Barsānā etc. were actually brought into Maratha possession.<sup>5</sup> But by this time Prayāga probably and Benares and Gayā definately were included in the province governed by the British under the nominal supremacy of the Mughal emperor. Still Nānā Faḍnīs did not give up his effort and wished to re-erect the temple of Viśvanātha

1. SPD vol. II, no. 134.

2. Ibid. vol. XXVII. no. 269.

3. Itihāsa Saṅgraha : Aitihāsika Charitreṃ pp. 116, 117.

4. Ibid : Aitihāsika Sphuṭa Lekha, part III, p. 97.

5. Ibid : Aitihāsika Tīpaṇeṃ, part IV, p. 29 ; Historical papers relating to Mahādājī Sindia, nos. 454, 572, 578, 588. It appears that the *farmans* about Mathura and Bindraban were issued on Tuesday the 1st of Muḥarram in Julus year 31 of Shāh 'Ālam II=21-22 Sep. 1789 A.D. (unpublished ; Hingne family Persian records no. 23 ; deposited in the Bharata Itihasa Shamshodhaka Mandala, Poona ).

at Benares by persuading the British, compensating for the houses of the public that would have been required to be demolished and by receiving a *farman* from the Delhi emperor in the same matter.<sup>1</sup> I have not as yet come across the result of these negotiations ; but whatever might be the result, the effort itself proves that both Nānā Faḍnīs and Mahādajī Shinde were equally arduous in their object. In one respect, however, Mahādajī succeeded well ; for it seems that he caused to be issued an imperial *farman* prohibiting cow-slaughter among the provinces really or nominally under the control of the Mughal emperor.<sup>2</sup>

1. Itihāsa Saṅgraha : Aitihāsika Ṭīpaṇem, part I, p. 8.

2. Musalamānī Riyāsata vol. II, p. 432.

# CĀRUDATTA AND MṚCHHAKAṬIKA

## ( A Study of Authorship )

By R. V. Jagirdar, Karnatak College, Dharwar.

Since the discovery of plays that have been ascribed to Bhāsa ( भासनाटकचक्र ) the authorship of the Mṛchhakaṭikam has become a more complicated problem. Śūdraka has been described as the author of the Mṛchhakaṭika in the prologue but the three verses in which his description occurs become, by their very style, liable to suspicion as regards the authenticity of their contents. (1) Firstly, in I-3 Śūdraka is described as द्विजमुत्थितम्, (2) Secondly, in 1-5 he is described as a क्षितिपाल, and (3) lastly, in all the three verses he is mentioned in the past tense. Add to these the fact that he is mentioned as having lived for 100 years and ten days and then immolated himself, the whole description becomes fantastic. If the Sūtradhāra himself is so uncertain about the author, it would not be unjustified on our part to hold that Śūdraka could not be the author of this play.

And then we come across a play called (दरिद्र) चारुदत्तम् ascribed to Bhāsa and first published in the Trivandram Sanskrit Series. The published play is in four acts. One of the two Mss., as the editor mentions, has the colophon अवसितं चारुदत्तम्. But it is obvious to any one going through the four acts that the play could not end there. The Mṛch. has ten acts. The hero and the heroine are united in act V. From this one could expect the Cār. to contain at least one act more to make the story complete. However, no Ms. gives the V act, on the other hand, as mentioned above, one, out of the two Mss. shows that the play (Cār.) ended with the fourth act.

Whether originally the Cār. had more than four acts, there is no evidence from any source. This in itself would make all criticism irrelevant and a comparison of the Cār. with the Mṛch. would be inconclusive. However, even with the available four acts the close similarity between two plays is very striking as not only the story and the development but even words and verses are common. When the author of the Mṛch. is not definitely known to the Sūtradhāra of that very play and when there is such

an almost word-to-word similarity with the Cār. the temptation to believe that the latter was the source of and earlier than the Mṛch. would appear justified. At present, the general opinion is that Bhāsa, an earlier dramalst, wrote the Cār. and a later writer either completed it or copied it as Mṛchhakaṭika.

In fairness to those who hold this view, let it be said that they are the first to realise many an objection against that view. For one thing, if there are only four acts in the Cār. (and the story is not complete there) what reasons can we find that made Bhāsa leave the play unfinished? Secondly, if the Mṛchhakaṭikam is only a completion of the Cār. how is it that from the very first act we find not only significant deviations but too many verbal changes and different lines or sometimes entirely different verses themselves? If, on the other hand, the Mṛchhakaṭikam is modelled on the Cār. how is it that a dramatist who could write and write well six independent acts could not write the first four without copying freely from the Cār.? As long as these two questions could not be answered satisfactorily, we shall not be justified in supporting the generally held view.

To begin with, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to explain why Bhāsa should have left the Cārudatta unfinished. That the play is unfinished there no doubt about it. Even as the fourth act ends we are left with the expectation of the heroine going to meet the hero. Moreover, दुर्दिन (the stormy day) that is described in act V of the Mṛchhakaṭika is referred to by the Cheṭi before the fourth act of Cārudatta ends. Just a little before that, when the heroine informs the Cheṭi about the love episode of सञ्जलक and मदनिका ending in their marriage, the चेटी says :- प्रियं मे अमृतांक नाटकं संवृत्तम्. It is a very curious and unusual remark which, on second thoughts makes us wonder if it is not a criticism of the other play viz. the Mṛchhakaṭika. Before we hazard an opinion on this, let us review more carefully the so-called close resemblances in the two plays.

When we remember that the Cārudatta is available only in its first four acts we obviously expect that it would not contain the sub-plot of the revolution against king Pālaka. This sub-plot is fully developed only in the last five acts of the Mṛchhakaṭika.

But it is strange why fifth act is not available in Cārudatta though that act only describes the meeting of the hero with the heroine. The Cārudatta not only does not contain the sub-plot as developed in the last acts of the Mṛchhakaṭika but even the casual references to it in the earlier acts of the Mṛchhakaṭika are not to be found in the Cārudatta. Thus in the prologue of the Mṛchhakaṭika, the Sūtradhāra getting angry with चूर्णवृद्ध says :—  
 आः दास्याः पुत्र, चूर्णवृद्ध, कदा नु खलु त्वां कुपितेन राज्ञा पालकेन नववधूकेशक-  
 लापमिव सुगन्धं लेद्यमानं प्रेक्षित्ये. In the Cārudatta, however, only that context in the prologue is not to be found and hence there is no reference to king Pālaka. The gambler's scene in Mṛchh. II is entirely absent in the Cār. Here also, among other things, there is a reference to the sub-plot. (दुर्दुरकः—कथितं च मम प्रियवयस्येन शर्विलकेन यथा किल आर्थकनामा गोपालदारकः सिद्धादेशेन समादिष्टो राजा भविष्यतीति।). Similarly, in Mṛchh. III the hero tells us that it was one रेभिल who gave the music performance. This रेभिल in act IV (Mṛchh.) is mentioned as the friend of शर्विलक also. But in the Cār. we are told that it was शाबल who gave the music performance. From all this, it appears as if the Cār. is making a studious effort to eschew all references to the sub-plot of the revolt of Āryaka.

The omission of the gamblers' scene in the Cār. suggests another possibility as could be verified by other examples. The gamblers' scene, as shown in the Mṛchh., has that peculiar stage technique which is represented throughout the play. Besides an apartment of Vasantasenā that is revealed at the opening of the act, we go over the open road, a temple, a crowd scene and then we follow the संवाहक running ultimately to Vasantasenā's apartment. This change of scene is avoided in the Cār. Not only here, but even in other places where the Mṛch. changes the scene, the Car. does not. Even in act I, during the chase of the heroine by Śākāra, the Cār. shows a clumsiness by introducing the scene between a verse by the hero and his mention of the offering later—the idea of the verse and the offering not at all being related as they are in the Mṛchh. Similarly in act IV all those changes of scene where मदनिका meets शर्विलक and where the Vidūṣaka passes through many apartments are entirely omitted in the Cār.

Inspite of the 'almost word-to-word' resemblances, the variations appear to be really more significant. The more we analyse variations the more obvious it appears that only two facts govern all of them : (1) the avoidance of all reference to the sub-plot, and (2) the omission of all contexts involving a change of scene within the body of an act.

In another place,\* I analysed all the thirteen plays ascribed to Bhāsa from the point of view of the proportion of अनुष्टुप् verses to the total number of verses in each play and suggested that those plays where the proportion was very low formed a distinct group by themselves and also could be clearly distinguished from those in a different group. The Cār. is one where this proportion is low (17 अनुष्टुप् out of a total of 55 verses). Here I carry that suggestion further by saying that the plays belonging to the group containing the Cār. are of a different and an inferior author than that of the group containing Svapnavāsavadatta and others. This suggestion of mine is supported by the comparison of the Cār. and the Mṛchh. as described above. That comparison shows to us the possibility of the Cār. itself being a revised or a stage-version of the Mṛchh. With the latter play before him the author of the Cār. freely used the names नायकः (for चारुदत्त), गणिका (for वसन्तसेना, सज्जलक (Pkt. for शर्विलक) and so on. But as he revised the Mṛchh, the author of Cār. must have found two things he disliked : one, a successful revolt against a reigning king and the other the sufferings of the hero and that too at the hands of the King's brother-in-law. Besides, there are scenes of apparent death of the heroine, of the death-sentence and of the execution place and of चारुदत्त's wife attempting *Satī*. As the चैटी in act IV of Cār. says, the author of the revised version did not like any death-scenes or associations with death; he preferred an अमृत अङ्क-नाटक. A Bhāsa who could show दुर्योधन die on the stage would never put such a limitation on his art.

\* Bulletin of the Skt. Lit. Assn. 1931, Karnatak College, Dharwar.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Bhagavad Gītā** : The Song of God translated by Swami Pambhavananda and Christopher Isherwood, with an Introduction by Aldous Huxley. Published by Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mysore, Madras, India. 1945. Pages 194. Price Rs. 2/4.

This is yet another translation of the *Gītā* into English added to a galaxy of them already in existence. But it must be said at once that this is a piece of work to be specially welcomed for many distinct reasons. For one thing, it is no mere translation, but an *English* version, in prose and verse, which offers a readable rendering to an English reader. And yet, it is a rendering which, on the whole, is faithful in its philosophic substance, if not in its literal phrase, to the original. It is, again, presented here along with certain additional embellishments, such as a prefatory note on 'Gītā and Mahābhārata', an informing appendix on 'the Cosmology of the Gita', and an illuminating introduction by Aldous Huxley, that illustrious author of the remarkable book, *Ends and Means*. This last-mentioned writer, Huxley, considers Gītā, in A. K. Coomaraswamy's phrase, to be 'the focus of Indian religion', and he also finds in it, to quote his own words, 'one of clearest and most comprehensive summaries of the Perennial Philosophy ever to have been made.' Hence, he writes, 'its enduring value, not only for Indians, but for all mankind.' This *English* version, therefore, is a genuine service to the English-knowing reading public of the world, English being, still, the most widely spoken and read of the languages of the world. I would most heartily commend this dainty little volume to all the English-knowing lovers of religious and philosophic wisdom the world over.

I would make one or two minor suggestions towards the improvement of the utility of the book in its next edition. The translators may well think of giving chapter and verse references on the pages, though not in the body of the text. And, in keeping with their general policy of 'interpretation', they will also do well to give suitable topical page-headings.

D. D. WADEKAR.



**Shrimad Bhagavad Gītā.** The Solution of Life's Problems, annotated by Bengali Baba, Kapurthala ; Pub. by Sham Sundar Mulk Raj Puri, B.A., LL.B. 35/11 Nisbet Road, Lahore, 1944 ; Pages (XXXVIII-383) ; Size 7¼" × 5".

There is no astrologer in the world who can correctly envisage the future of the *Bhagavadgītā* and no historian who can correctly depict its past. The message of this immortal poem has, however, gone home to that portion of mankind, which cares for spiritual values. I may say without much fear of contradiction that there is no week in which some publication about this poem is not published in India or outside.

In the present volume Shri Bengali Baba presents a short description of the different views about the *Gītā* which he has come across during his travels throughout India. He has "explained the *Gītā* in the light of the *Yoga-Sūtra* along with the extensive and all-embracing authority of the Vedic Scriptures." According to him the Six texts of the Systems of Philosophy are successive steps of one and the same ladder. The arrangement of the volume consists of the text of the *Gītā* with English exposition of each verse of the poem. We trust that this volume will have a special appeal to English readers of the *Gītā* who want to understand the deeper meaning of the poem. Prof. Sansar Chand's Introduction to the present volume is as instructive and inspiring as Shri Bengali Baba's detailed exposition of the *Gītā*. We must not only read the *Gītā* and expound it but act on its valuable teachings to the best of our opportunities and capacities. This is the only way to redeem the debt of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

P. K. GODE.

**Śrīmad Bhāgavatam : The Wisdom of God.** Translated by Swami Prabhavānand. Śrī Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, 1944. Pp. Cr. x, 222. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

This handy volume gives a concise English rendering of the most popular and widely read Purāṇa, the *Bhāgavata*. As stated by the translator himself, 'only the more generally interesting portions of the work...are included in the present version. Of this version, again, about half is summary and paraphrase rather

than translation.' But of the *Uddhavagītā*, in Book XI, a literal and full rendering into English is given as it consists of the teachings of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The translator has succeeded remarkably in presenting the main substance of the *Bhāgavata* in elegant and flowing English. Suitable headings are given to different chapters to indicate their contents and the glossary of Sanskrit terms will be very useful to those who do not possess adequate knowledge of Sanskrit Literature and Hindu Mythology. The printing and the general get-up are quite satisfactory.

N. A. G.

**Snuṣāvijaya** (a one-act play) by Śrī Sundararāja Kavi, edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph. D. Reprinted from the *Annals of Oriental Research*, Madras University, Madras, 1944, Pp. VI + 29 Price not mentioned.

Sundararāja, the erudite author of this *prahasana* was born in a Tamil village in the Travancore State in A.D. 1841 and passed away in 1904. He composed about 20 works in Sanskrit, some of which have already been printed. Dr. Raghavan assigns the present play to the class of *prahasana* among the ten kinds of *rūpaka*. The author has depicted here the conflict between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law with a keen insight into the origin of the incompatibility between the aged mother-in-law and the new entrant, the daughter-in-law. This modern production is free from coarseness and the author develops his theme with a rich sense of humour, which pervades his simple and pointed expression.

We congratulate Dr. Raghavan for the present edition of this delightful and entertaining play based on one MS and the edition in Grantha characters printed in 1890. In spite of the rise of the Vernaculars, Sanskrit, the language of the Gods, will continue to enchant the sons of this Bhāratavarṣa.

P. K. GODE.

**Rāsalilā** by Dr. V. Raghavan. Pp. Dm. 8. 1945. Price not mentioned.

In this short one act Sanskrit play in 4 scenes, Dr. Raghavan has clearly presented in a dramatized form, the delightful love-

sports of Lord Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis on the banks of the Yamunā, which are so beautifully described in the first part of the 10th Ch. of the *Bhāgavata*. With becoming modesty and integrity. Dr. Raghavan has stated his indebtedness to the author of the *Bhāgavata*. Out of the 38 stzs. in the play he has taken over 33 from the *Bhāgavata* and one from the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmrta*. With remarkable skill, sometimes three or four stzs. from the original are condensed with slight variations into a single stanza. He has also supplied the prose dialogues and stage-directions which state the various *rāgas* to which these stzs. are to be set. It is interesting to note that this *Sanskrit* play was presented from the Madras station of the All-India Radio in December 1944.

Dr. Raghavan deserves full credit for and congratulations upon this novel experiment at presenting this dramatized version of one of the most popular episodes in the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

N. A. G.

**Jinaratnakos'a**, an Alphabetical Register of Jain works and authors, Vol. I, Works, by Professor H. D. VELANKAR. Published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1944, Double Demi pp. xii-466. price Rs. 12-8-0.

Professor Velankar's Jinaratnakośa Vol. I is an alphabetical register of all Jain works, published and unpublished, which are so far known to exist in public as well as private libraries in the world, and is a first class reference book which no scholar of Indian Literature can afford to be without. Friends of Prof. Velankar knew very well that he was working on this project for over 25 years and was working single-handed. In preparing this work he had to wade, not only through the published catalogues of public and private libraries, but had to obtain lists of works from private and hitherto inaccessible sources. He consulted no less than 121 such lists, information from which is now recorded under each title. The method adopted by him in his work is as follows:—He first gives the title of the work in Sanskrit; indicates in brief the subject matter treated in the work; he then states the place or places of publication if the work is a printed one, and notes whether it has com-

mentaries and translations; he then citis all references to the work in the histories of literature as well as papers and articles on the same; then follow references of the occurrences of the work in various MSS libraries or Catalogues in their alphabetical order, AD, Agra, AK, down to Weber; then come the commentarial literature on the work, their authors together with their occurrences as above; he also supplies dates wherever available, and records all printed editions known. The present volume is thus a mine of information for those scholars interested in Jain religion and literature, and is a model to be kept before their eyes by young Indian aspirants to scholarship for qualities of patience, industry, self-discipline, and I would add, even modesty. No scholar interested in Jainism can now afford to be without this Volume and Jain community as a whole ought to be particularly grateful to Professor Velankar for the signal service which he, more than anybody from among them, has rendered to the cause of their religion and literature. We eagerly await the publication of Vol. II at an early date.

Professor Velankar seems, perhaps rightly on the ground of convenience, to have selected the titles of works in the Sanskrit language, though a good many of them are written in one or another of the Prākṛit dialects. But in doing so, it some times happens that the Sanskrit rendering of an original Prakrit title is inaccurate or misleading. For instance, the title Nāyā-dhammakahāo in Prakrit is popularly rendered as Jñātādharmakathā, while it should have been Jñātadharmakathā; for the work consists of two parts, Nāya and Dhammakahā, which when compounded, lengthen the ending vowel of the first member Nāya. Such a lengthening is perfectly legitimate according to rules of Prakrit grammar, but, I am afraid, for such lengthening in its Sanskrit equivalent would require a lot of twisting of rules according to Sanskrit grammar to justify it. We would suggest that it would have been better if Prakrit titles had been shown in parenthesis or with cross-references.

P. L. V.

**Catalogue of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.**  
Prepared by Dr. Kunhan Raja and K. M. K. Sarma. Pp. Double  
Dm. v, 100. Price not mentioned. Bikaner, 1944.

The collection of MSS. at Fort, Bikaner is one of the most important ones in this country. But hitherto a complete list of it was not available. Not only that, the MSS. were not duly classified. It was Dr. Kunhan Raja's advice that was mainly responsible for the Library of MSS. being systematically re-organized, and a scheme was drawn up to prepare and publish a Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. But that will naturally take a long time. Hence this Catalogue which gives the formal, necessary information in eight columns is particularly welcome.

It is true that Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, prepared about 60 years ago, his 'catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner'. But as he worked, not by directly examining the MSS himself, but on the notes prepared by one Haris'candra Sastri, his catalogue was not only inaccurate but also incomplete in as much as out of over 10000 MSS. which are actually found in the Library, he described only 1547 + 247.

The work under review is only the first part giving information of 1340 MSS. It is recorded in 8 columns in the following order: 1. General No.; 2. Serial No.; 3. Work; 4. Author; 5. No. of folios; 6. Date (and the place); 7. Owner; and 8. Remarks.

Out of 1340 MSS about 350 are dated. The oldest dated MS. is no. 784 bearing the date, Śaka year 1066, corresponding to 1144 A. D. (but Dr. Raja informs me that this is due to the scribal error) and the latest is no. 634 which is written (or rather copied from an earlier MS.) in 1937 A. D.

The MSS. recorded here are those of the 4 Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads, the Śrauta and the Gṛhya literature, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa; the Purāṇas and the Gītā.

It is desirable that the remaining parts should be printed without much delay.

N. A. G.

**Lectures on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Vol I, by Dr. I. S. SUBRAHMANYA Sāstri, Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 9 Annamalainagar, 1944; pp. lxx-306; Price Rs. 4/- .**

The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali is one of the great masterpieces of Sanskrit Literature, and its study is put on par with the glories of ruling over a great empire. Although the work deals with the subject matter of grammar, it bristles with a very large number of lucid passages that enliven the dry technicalities of grammar, and is over and above a mine of information on varied topics, such as contemporary history, religion, society, poetry, drama etc. So far very few attempts are made to illucidate this great work to the English-knowing reader, because the scholar is frightened with its volume as well as the difficulty of its contents ; A Marathi translation prepared by the late MM. Vasudev Śāstri Abhyankar of Poona is in the course of publication and an English translation is being announced for years by the Bhandarkar Institute among its undertakings. We are of opinion that mere translations of such works are useful to those who are already initiated into the intricacies of the science. Such translations must be accompanied by explanations in order that the translations should be really useful.

Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri's work under review is neither pure translation nor explanation of the Mahābhāṣya. It contains a few lectures on the first three Āhnikas out of a total of 85, which lectures attempt to explain the text as a teacher would do to a pupil. The work is thus a set of class-lectures on the Mahābhāṣya, and we should judge it as such. To one who is already introduced to the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar, these lectures are at places helpful for the understanding of the text, but we are afraid, Dr. Sastri does not go far enough in this respect, and the student will have many knotty points still unsolved. We would like to point out only one non-technical topic dealt with on pages 29-31 which relates to Kātyāyana's spontaneous utterance called *bhrājas* in versified form. The student should have been told in plain language that Kātyāyana composed some stray verses called *Bhrājas* among which are found the two stanzas "Yas tu prayuñkte" and "Yad udumbaravarṇānām." Of these two stanzas the first agrees in substance with the teaching of the Vedas, and is therefore regarded as an authoritative statement, while the other, composed by him

in jocular mood, cannot be so. The learned Professor could here have easily indulged in a lighter vein in the midst of more serious topics.

The present volume contains lectures on only three out of a total of 85 Āhnikas of the whole work. Considering the progress so far made, we are afraid, the work may require more than the full span of human life for its successful completion ; we all hope that the Professor enjoys a long life sufficient to complete his self-imposed task ; for does not the Bhāṣyakāra say in his work :

एवं हि श्रूयते-बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां  
शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच, नान्तं जगाम । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता, इन्द्रश्चाध्येता, दिव्यं  
वर्षसहस्रमध्ययनकालः ।

Or, the Professor should restrict his lectures only to difficulties in the work and should not indulge in useless digressions such as are found on page 15 etc.

P. L. V.

**Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan**  
by S. M. KATRE, Published by the University of Bombay, 1944,  
Crown 8 vo, xvi-221, Price Rs. 2-4-0.

Dr. S. M. Katre, Director of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, delivered in 1940-41 the Wilson Philological Lectures under the auspices of the University of Bombay, which the University has now published under the above title. Dr. Katre in his first lecture takes a rapid resume of the history of the science of linguistics, more popularly but erroneously known as Philology. He devotes the next two lectures to the verbal bases of Indo-Aryan. In the fourth lecture he discusses the formation of nominal stems, and in the remaining two he throws suggestions to workers in the field to undertake some unsolved problems in Linguistics. The volume contains brief notes to topics in the Lectures, bibliographical indications and a Word-Index. Dr. Katre tells his reader that he has published these lectures as he delivered them ; we are afraid that they must have been very heavy to his audience and rather uninteresting, barring the first and the last two.

We do not blame the Lecturer, because the subject is such as cannot be made understandable except to a specialist. To the specialist however these lectures are a mine of information and suggestions of problems on which he should start his investigation. Dr. Katre is fortunately in a position to guide such specialists, and we hope that instead of throwing problems at his audience he will himself stimulate a spirit of research among his own students for the solution of the unsolved problems and desiderata.

P. L. V.

**Prākṛit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture** by Dr. S. M. KATRE, Bharatiya Vidya Studies No. 3, Published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1945, Crown 8 vo, xii-102, Price Rs. 2-8-0.

This is a very small volume of hardly 110 pages and as such cannot be expected to do full justice to the subject-matter. Dr. Katre in his introductory chapter defines the scope of the work. In the second he takes rapid survey of Middle Indo-Aryan Languages and Literature. In the third he gives linguistic features of the Middle Indo-Aryan Languages. The fourth chapter discusses the evolution of these to Modern Indian Languages of the Aryan group, and in the last chapter, he makes a brief survey of the contribution they have made to Indian culture. Everywhere the survey is brief and more or less panoramic, and hardly does justice to the vast field. The booklet however will serve as a useful guide to beginners in the field.

There is one mis-statement occurring on page 17 of the booklet, which, the reviewer feels, should not go unnoticed. It runs :—"The emigrants had taken to wearing a white apparel, as contrasted with the naked cult of the stay-at-homes, and the Jain community was divided into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras". The current and accepted view among scholars and historians on the schism in the Jain Church is exactly the reverse of what Dr. Katre says. We think this is only a slip of the pen and not a new discovery.

P. L. V.



**The Padyaveṇī of Veṇīdatta.** Edited by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. Pub. by the editor. Calcutta 1944. Pp. Cr. 124, 288. Price Rs. 10.

Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, the founder and Jt. Secretary of the Prācyavāṇī Mandira, Calcutta, has planned an ambitious scheme for the publication of unpublished Sanskrit texts through his five Series devoted to Contribution of Women to Sk. Lit, of Bengal to Smṛti Lit, Sk. Koṣa Kāvya (Anthologies), Sk. Dūtakāvya and Muslim patronage to Sk. Lit. A number of books has already appeared. In the 4th Series pertaining to Sk. Anthologies two have already appeared: The *Sūktisundara* and the *Subhāṣita-hārāvali*. And now appears this third anthology which is critically edited here for the first time.

In this collection, brought together by Veṇīdatta, 889 stzs. by 113 different poets are given. The edition is based on a single MS. at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute.

The editor has done his work in a thorough-going manner. There are two Indexes giving alphabetical lists of Poets and works quoted in the Padyaveṇī. In the third Index, verses of the poets of the P. V., quoted in the P. V. as well as other works are given. After giving an account of Veṇīdatta (17th c. A. D.) a detailed account of the poets in the P. V. with their dates etc. is added.

Altogether, this is a very useful edition and we congratulate the editor on bringing it out even during these days of war.

N. A. G.

**Acyutarāyābhyudayam** of Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima. (Cantos 7-12). Edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar. Pub. Adyar Library, 1945. Pp. XVI, 39, 63. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

In the whole range of Sanskrit Literature, the number of historical works is small. Hence the publication of this historical poem composed in 1536-1542 A.D. by Ḍiṇḍima is indeed quite welcome.

The Vāṇivilāsa Press, Srirangam, had published the first six cantos in 1907. The historical material in this poem of 12 cantos was condensed by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his *Sources of Vijayanagara History*.

Mr. A. N. K. Aiyangar has supplied a long-left want by publishing the remaining cantos (7-12) with care from ten MSS

with a Foreword by K. V. Rangswami and an introduction clearing the obscurities in the history of the line to which the author of the poem belonged and describing the various events in the life of the hero. It is noteworthy that in the poem, the name Vijayanagara is generally given as Vidyānagara.

The format and get-up of the volume is quite pleasing and is in line with other publications of the Adyar Library. But the proof-reading of the Sanskrit text leaves much to be desired.

It may be pointed out that the first Six Cantos also of this poem should be published in this Library for the sake of completeness and uniformity of reference.

N. A. G.

**Ujjayini In Ancient India.** By Dr. Bimala Churan Law, M.A., B.L., Ph. D., D. Litt. Published by the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior state. Pp. 42, 8 plates. 1944.

The great scholar and the patron of the Oriental studies, Dr. Bimala Churan Law has here collected valuable material on the history of Ujjayini the wellknown ancient city of India, in this booklet. The importance of such books is beyond doubt. But as far as possible the statements which are made in such historical books, should always be well documented. The material dealt with in this book is most probably based on the evidence from the Paurāṇic literature, such as Mārkaṇḍeya and the other Purāṇās. The Buddhist birth-stories from which information is taken up are not so credible as far as the scientific research is concerned. But the data culled from the inscriptions is quite reliable.

The author has placed before us the history of the city since the Paurāṇic time up to the end of Muslim rule in Mālavā; and the readers of the book will be surely interested to go through it. The book will be useful to the students who would like to make a thorough study of the history of the great city.

We congratulate Dr. Law on his publishing such a good booklet even during these war times when the cost of printing and paper has soared so high. We want to draw the attention of our readers to the paper on the same city published in the Law Memorial volume part I.

V. T. GUNE.

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**Iconography of Śrī Vidyārṇava Tantra** by S. Srikantha Sastri. In this small brochure the Iconographic material in the encyclopedic work "Śrī Vidyārṇava Tantra" has been analysed and arranged to serve as an elementary guide to the students of Indian Iconography. Bengalore 1944. Demy Pp. 46. Re. 1

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*Concluding Vol. V containing lives of distinguished artists of the Indian Stage will be out shortly.*

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GAUTAMA'S  
NYĀYASŪTRAS

[ With Vātsyāyana-Bhāṣya ]

*Translated into English with his own Revised Notes*

BY  
GAṄGĀNĀTHA JHĀ



POONA  
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1939

## PREFACE

Not being learned in the 'Science' or 'Art' of 'Chronology,' I secured in 1920 a contribution on that subject from my colleague, Pandit Gopinatha Kaviraj, which is reproduced here as the 'Introduction'; and I am thankful to him for having thus removed a serious defect from my work. It remains for me only to indicate in brief the materials that I made use of in preparing this translation. For the Bhāṣya I relied mainly upon my own Edition published in the 'Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series' along with a commentary of my own. In the case of the former I was helped by the following manuscripts :—

I. Palm-leaf, styled in the notes as 'Puri Ms. B' which contains the Bhāṣya from 1-2-4 to the end.

II. Palm-leaf, styled as 'Puri Ms. A', containing the Bhāṣya from the beginning to 3-2-42.

III. A palm-leaf Ms. of the Sūtra only.

These three were kindly lent to me by the revered Śaṅkarācārya of Govardhanamaṭha, Puri.

IV. A palm-leaf Ms. of the Bhāṣya, Adhyāya V only—styled 'C'.

V. A palm-leaf Ms. of the Bhāṣya, Adhyāya V only—styled 'D'.

VI. Paper Ms. of the Sūtra only belonging to Jagadīśa Mishra.

VII. Paper Ms. of Sūtra only belonging to Babu Govindadāsa.

Every one of these manuscripts was found to be quite correct, specially the first two, which proved of incalculable help in fixing the text of the Bhāṣya in several places.

For the *Tātparya* I have used the edition in the 'Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series'.

For the *Parishuddhi*, I have had to rely upon a manuscript secured for me several years ago from Madras, by my friend Babu Govindadāsa.

Of the *Bhāṣyacandra*, I had a single manuscript, obtained from Babu Govindadāsa's valuable collection.

In addition to these I have also used, for my notes, (a) the *Bodhasiddhi*, also called *Nyāyaparīṣiṣṭa*, of Udayana, and the *Anvikṣānayatattvabodha* of Vardhamāna;—manuscripts of both of them having been secured for me by Mahāmahopādhyāya P. Vindhyeshwari Prasad Dube of the Sanskrit College Library.

When the translation was first published in *Indian Thought*, it was accompanied by a complete translation of the *Nyāyavārtika* also. The publishers of this revised Edition however have decided to omit the *Vārtika*, in order to make the work handier and more within the means of the Sanskrit Scholar whose circumstances are seldom affluent.

With this brief preface I lay this Edition also at the feet of those to whom I owe all I am and all I have—

पित्रोस्तीर्थलता—तीर्थनाथयोरिदमर्पितम् ।

भ्रातुः श्रीविन्धनाथस्य प्रभोर्लक्ष्मीश्वरस्य च ॥

ALLAHABAD

February, 11, 1939. }

GANGĀNĀTHA JHĀ.

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## INTRODUCTION

### I.—PRELIMINARY

The Works, of which an English translation has been offered for the first time in the following pages, consist of (a) Nyāya-sūtras by Gotama, (b) Nyāya-bhāṣya by Vātsyāyana and (c) Nyāya-Vārtika by Uddyotakara. Vācaspati Miśra's Tātparyatikā, Udayana's Tātparyapariśuddhi and Raghūttama's Bhāṣyacandra, have been utilised only in so far as they have been deemed useful for illuminating the more obscure points in the Sūtras or in their Commentaries.

The history of Nyāya remains still to be written, and it is not known with certainty how and when this system came to be associated with Vaiśeṣika. In the Nyāyabhāṣya, and naturally in all subsequent works based upon it, we find the two systems generally mixed up. The Vaiśeṣika categories are everywhere tacitly assumed in Nyāya, and, though on certain points, metaphysical (e. g. 'pīlupāka' *versus* 'piṭharapāka') and epistemological (e. g. recognition of the number of pramāṇas, viz. four in Nyāya and two in Vaiśeṣika), the two schools diverge from each other, their general harmony is still very remarkable and would seem to be fundamental.\* In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to discriminate the two systems with any degree of accuracy, except by characterising one as mainly logical and methodological and the other as metaphysical. And besides this there are other factors to be counted. There have been theological influences at work in the elaboration of the ideas of each school. The allied Jain and Buddhist thought of the age must also have had some effect on the system as a whole. The age in which the early Nyāya literature was written was an age of polemics, and until the history of contemporary thought, especially what is revealed in the oldest Buddhist and Jain literature, comes to be written, all speculations regarding the fundamental character of this literature are bound to be more or less unsuccessful. Then again, there is the almost

\* Cf. in this connection Dr. D. Faddegon's "The Vaicesika System," pp. 48-49.

insurmountable difficulty of determining, in the case of the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya, whether the whole work proceeded from one author or consists of parts ascribable to different authors belonging to different times. The subject is complicated, and a study of the Bhāṣya and of the Vārtika is calculated to be very helpful in this direction.

## II.—THE NYĀYA SŪTRAS AND VĀTSYĀYANA BHĀṢHYA.

### (1) OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS.

#### (i) *On Nyāya Sūtras.*

The Nyāya system of philosophy, like every other Indian system, is based upon a body of aphoristic sayings, called 'Sūtras' which are ascribed by tradition to one Akṣapāda (called in Chinese *soc-mock*, lit. 'foot-eye'), more popularly known as Gotama or Gautama. Who this Gotama was and in what time and country he flourished are questions to which no satisfactory answer can be given. Scholars have, of course, attempted to offer an answer, but all in different ways.

(a) Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstri (J. A. S. B., 1905, pp. 177-180) tries to show, on Chinese evidence, that Akṣapāda, the 'founder' of Nyāya, was a pre-Buddhistic teacher, but he adds that the Sūtras as we have them are comparatively modern, being probably post-Mahāyānic in age. He places them in the 2nd Century A. D.

(b) Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Candra Vidyābhūṣaṇa (Introduction to "The Nyāya Sūtras of Gotama", S. B. II., pp. v-viii; Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 161-162) believes that the author of the Nyāya Sūtras, who was identical with the author of Gautama Dharma Sūtras and of the Pitrimeḍha Sūtras and was an inhabitant of Mithila, lived in the 6th Century B. C. and was a contemporary of Buddha. He was the author of the *first* chapter of the work, the later chapters being subsequent additions.

(c) Professor Jacobi (J. A. O. S., XXXI, 1911, pp. 2, 13) says that the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya are later than the origin of Śūnya Vāda (*i. e.*, end of 2nd Century A. D.) and earlier than that of

Vijñānavāda (*i. e.*, end of 5th Century A. D.), and that the interval between the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya need not be supposed to have been more than a generation. He assumes, it seems, that the whole Bhāṣya is one uniform work (*Cf. Ibid.*, p. 6).

(*d*) Professor Stcherbatskoi ('Epistemology and Logic as taught by the later Buddhists,' as summed up in *J. A. O. S.*, 1911 pp. 4-5), on the contrary, sees in the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya marks of acquaintance with Buddhist Idealism, whence he declares them both to be posterior to 500 A. D. This view has been refuted by Jacobi.

(*e*) Bodas (Introduction to *Tarkasaṅgraha*, B. S. S., pp. XXX-XXXII) says that the work of Kaṇāda, as we possess it, cannot be anterior to 400 B. C. and posterior to 500 A. D., which is the date of Vātsyāyana. Vātsyāyana under *Ny. Sūt.* 2-2-36, refers to *Vaiś. Sūt.* 3-1-16. The Sūtras of Gotama are older than those of Kaṇāda. He says definitely that Gotama's text belongs to 400 B. C. on the ground that Śābar Svāmi (*Bib. Ed.*, p. 10) quotes from *Upavaṛṣa* a passage showing that *Upavaṛṣa* was familiar with Gotama's system. If this *Upavaṛṣa* be identical with the minister of Nanda there is no inconsistency in placing Gotama in the 4th Century B. C. or a little earlier.

(*f*) Professor Suali (*Introduzione allo Studio della Filosofia Indiana*, p. 14) accepts in the main Jacobi's conclusion but remarks that though the time of Vātsyāyana may be accepted as right, that of Gotama is doubtful. One generation is too short an interval to be placed between the Bhāṣya and the Sūtras. He would suggest an interval of 100 years, if not more, thus referring the Sūtras to about 300 or 350 A. D.

(*g*) Professor Garbe (*Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie*, p. 33) considers Nyāya to be the latest of the six orthodox systems and says that no trace of it is to be found before the Christian Era. He states no grounds for his conclusion, but he notes that the Nyāyadarśana as such was known to Pañchaśikha whom he believes to have been a contemporary of Śābara, living sometime between 100 and 300 A. D.

(ii) *On Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya.*

Regarding the Bhāṣya too there is a wide diversity of views.

(a) First of all we may refer to the theory of Dr. Windisch who, in his excellent pamphlet 'Über Das Nyāya Bhāṣya,' pp. 14-15, has sought to prove that the Nyāyabhāṣya must be ascribed to the same period in which the Mahābhāṣya was written, *i. e.*, about 200 B. C. He shows by means of illustrations that both the works are more or less similar in structure and style and that both contain a number of pregnant sentences which are of the same type. In the case of Mahābhāṣya, Kielhorn has established this satisfactorily (*Cf.* his booklet 'Kātyāyana and Patañjali'). These sūtra-like short sentences never end in इति and must be the work of a predecessor. It is interesting to find that the explanations of these generally end in इति । These explanations, in the case of the Nyāyabhāṣya, usually end in वचनीयम् or वाच्यम्, resembling the वक्तव्यम् of the Mahābhāṣya which Kielhorn showed as belonging to the explanation-part and not to the Vārtika itself. The sūtra-like sentences would in course of time (as their origin was forgotten) come to be regarded doubtfully as Sūtra or Bhāṣya. This has been, we know, really the case.

(b) Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (Introduction, p. X) places Vātsyāyana, whom he makes a native of Southern India, about the middle of the 5th Century A. D. or (Bhandarkar Volume, p. 163 : Ind. Ant., 1915) about 400 A. D. The whole work is evidently by one author. The Nyāya Sūtras 4-1-39, 4-1-48, 2-1-1-19, 4-2-32 2-1-37 and 4-2-26, 3-2-11 are interpolations from Mādhyamika Sūtra and Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, which somehow crept into the text before or during the age of Vātsyāyana.

(c) Mm. H. P. Śāstri (J. A. S. B., 1905, p. 178) makes Vātsyāyana post-Mahāyānic, *i. e.*, a successor of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.

(d) Stcherbatskoi's view (*loc. cit.*) is that Vātsyāyana lived long after 500 A.D. Both the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya are supposed to contain references to Vijñāna-Vāda and must be posterior to the date of its origin in the 5th Century.

(e) Jacobi (*loc. cit.*) places Vātsyāyana about the beginning of the 6th Century or earlier. He accepts Windisch's Vārtika



theory and allows an interval of about a generation between the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya.

(f) Suali (*loc. cit.*) accepts Jacobi's date for Vātsyāyana, as already noted.

(g) Bodas (Introduction, p. XLI) assigns Vātsyāyana to the end of 500 A.D. on the ground that "he preceded the well-known Buddhist teacher, Diñnāga, who is said to have lived in the early part of the 6th Century."

## (2) REVIEW AND REMARKS.

We have attempted to give above the views of some of the best authorities on the chronology of the Nyāya Sūtras and Vātsyāyana's Commentary upon them. The time of the Sūtras is found to range from the pre-Buddhistic or Buddhistic age to about 600 A. D. So about Vātsyāyana the dates assigned vary from 200 B. C. to about 700 A. D. This wild confusion is a sure indication of the fact that we are travelling on insecure ground. And as a matter of fact it is not possible to be quite precise when the premises are so shaky. The Sūtras and the Bhāṣya do not seem to have yet been studied with that minuteness and thoroughness which their nature demands. A critical edition of the Sūtrapāṭha of Nyāya, based upon a collation of all available Mss. of different recensions and of the Sūtras as accepted by the various glosses and commentaries still existing, is the greatest desideratum of the day, and until this is done it is vain to endeavour to determine the *sūtratva* of a particular aphorism. In the translation efforts have been made to determine this, as far as possible. From the very nature of the present work, the translator has had to rely upon the verdict, direct or implied, of the *Bhāṣya*, the *Vārtika*, and the *Tātparyā*, and also upon Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāyasūcinibandha* ; but help was also derived from two old manuscripts, obtained from two different sources.

The question of Bhāṣya is even more complicated, as Mss. of this work are comparatively very rare. In these circumstances therefore all such theories as have a bearing more or less direct on the character of the text have to be accepted as only tentative. Then again there is the inevitable danger of a tendency to read modern thought into old words. If there be a passage illustrat-

ing an old theory which has died out but which survives in its developed form in a recent but better known *Vāda* it is very likely that we shall understand it as representing the latter. The early history of Indian thought being not known in detail it becomes really very hard at times to identify a particular doctrine.

Professor Stecherbatskoi's theory does not seem to call for any new comments. Jacobi has already treated it at some length and tried to shew that neither the Sūtras nor the Bhāṣya can be proved to contain allusions to Buddhist Idealism, so that they must be earlier than the age of Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu (500 A. D.). Vācaspati's interpretation of Sūtras 4, 2, 26, 35 as directed against Vijñānavāda is erroneous. So far it is all right. But Jacobi, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, H. P. Śāstrī and Sualī all find in the Sūtras and Bhāṣya traces of Śūnyavāda. This seems to me problematic. That there is a doctrine much allied to the later Buddhist Śūnyavāda need not be gainsaid. But it does not seem to have yet been established that this doctrine is really the same as the so-called Śūnyavāda of Nāgārjuna's school. And even if it is there is no necessity to assume *a priori* that the whole work proceeded from one pen and belongs to one, *viz.*, the post-Nāgārjuna period.

### (3) *The Age of the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya*

Assuming that all the Nyāya-sūtras, as we have them to day, are not genuine and that some of them may possibly represent later interpolations,\* there is no reason to deny that the general framework of the system is of a much earlier date. There is nothing to contradict Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's view that the Sūtras belong to 600 B. C. Mm. Śāstrī's opinion that Akṣapāda was pre-Buddhist and was the founder of the school is also acceptable, but where is the proof to show that *all* the Sūtras came after the development of the Mahāyānic School and that even some of them were not composed by Akṣapāda himself? The suggestion of the Sūtras having passed through several redactions may be accepted in the main, but this does not militate against the antiquity and genuineness of some parts of the work at any rate.

\* Cf. Faddegon, "The Vaicesika System," pp. 46-47.

The introduction of Yoga in a work on Nyāya is not altogether inexplicable, if we remember that both Yoga and Nyāya ( including Vaiśeṣika ), as systems of theological philosophy, belonged to the Śaiva School. The very word *Iśvara*, ( as distinguished from 'Puruṣottama' of Sāṅkhya which, as Haribhadra points out, was affiliated to Vaiṣṇavism ) signifies *Śiva*. Even in later times the Śaiva Naiyāyika Bhāsarvajña (800 A. D.) introduced Yoga in his Nyāya tract, *viz.*, Nyāya-Sāra. The section on Yoga in Gotama's work (Sūtras 4, 2, 38-48) does not bear on it any special mark of later development. The "peculiar character" referred to by the Śāstrīji is not apparent to me.

It is interesting to observe that the several doctrines which have been introduced in the 1st Lecture of Chapter IV as पूर्वपक्षाः does not refer explicitly either to Śūnya Vāda or to Vijñāna-Vāda. They may well stand for theories so widely current in Buddhistic and post-Buddhistic ( but generally pre-Christian ) times, and a detailed examination of these in connection with the history of contemporary thought is sure to be highly profitable and enlightening. The Sūtras and the Bhāṣya must be subjected to such an examination before any final opinion regarding their age can be fitly pronounced.

This is not the right place to enter into a discussion of this kind, but we may just note a word or two here briefly in order to suggest that this line of pursuit is likely to yield valuable results.

(1) First of all, we may refer to the doctrine as stated in Sūtra 3-1-52, which states that त्वक् 'touch' is the only sense-organ, the other so-called sense-organs being only modifications of it. This is a queer, but a very old view, and we find it as early as 500 B. C. in Greece, where Democritus ( and later on Aristotle too ) advocated a similar theory. And even in modern Nyāya, though the unity of sense-organs has been rejected as such, the importance of त्वक् and its distinctive character have been strongly emphasised. The doctrine of त्वङ्मनोयोग, *i. e.* the view that relative consciousness is possible only when there is contact between *manas* and *tvak*, is based upon the recognition of

the fact that the function of त्वक् in our mental life is unique.\* But the doctrine as mentioned in the Sūtra asserting that त्वक् is the only sense-organ stands by itself. It is unknown to any of the existing systems of philosophy. But we know that it is the old Sāṅkhya theory. Both Ratnaprabhā and Bhāmatī under Ved. Sūt. 2-2-10, attribute it to Sāṅkhya. It does not exist in the Kārikā of Iśvarakṛṣṇa and appears to be much older than this author. The date of Iśvarakṛṣṇa is uncertain. Dr. Keith (Sāṅkhya System, p. 69) places him about 450 A. D. and Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's opinion is very much the same (Med. Logic, p. 83). For reasons into which I cannot enter here I feel inclined to assign a much earlier date to the work. Probably the publication or Māthara Vṛtti undertaken by Dr. Belvalkar will help to clear up much confusion on the matter. At any rate it seems probable that the view on त्वक् was very old and Gotama's allusion to it is a probable sign of the antiquity of the Sūtras.

(2) Then we may pass in review the various Vādas discussed in the 4th Chapter, Lecture 1. We should remember that these were all extremist theories एकान्ताः in connection with the origin and nature of the world.

(i) The first Vāda (4. 1. 14-18) which affirms the origin of things from pre-existing अभाव, is as old as the Upaniṣads and is found in the Pali literature. It amounts to a denial of what is technically called उपादाननियम ।

(ii) The next Vāda known as Iśvaravāda (4. 1. 19-21) declares that the Ultimate *Nimitta* of production is God and not पुरुषकर्म or पुरुषकार† । This ultra-theistic position disavows the efficiency of human will altogether and assigns every

\* It is for this reason that in Suṣupti or dreamless sleep, when the *manas* happens to be within the 'puritat' beyond the sphere of त्वक् it enjoys rest and there is abeyance of conscious life altogether. For details see my forthcoming work 'Nyāya Vaiśeṣika System of Thought' (Part III, Section on Psycho-physics, etc.)

† Probably this was a reaction against the extreme Mīmāṃsā theory of Karma. The theory is as old as Buddha's day. And it is not impossible, though not likely, that the word कारण in the phrase 'ईश्वरः कारणं' etc. implies material (उपादान) as well. In that case it would be an allusion to the early Brahmapada. In this connection the reader is referred to the notes given in the present translation *in loco*.

product to the direct intervention of a Divine Resolve. The human will is said to be efficient in subordination to actuation from Above. The Ancient Pāli and Prākṛit literature is replete with accounts of similar theories. The statement अज्ञो जंतुरनीशोऽयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः । ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छन् स्वर्गं वा श्वभ्रमेव वा ॥ (M. Bht. वनपर्व, 33. 28) says plainly that pleasure and pain, *i. e.* the fruits (फल), come directly from God and not from human effort, for the simple reason that man as such is ignorant (अज्ञ) and impotent (अनीश) in regard to his pleasure and pain. The प्रेरक is God. Such ईश्वरवाद exists in the Upaniṣads,\* and we may detect it in some shape in the Pāśupata Darśana of Mādhavācārya's Sarvadarśanasamgraha. This is, of course, slightly distinguished from the Īśvaravāda of which the Śveta† Up† (1. 2) speaks.

(iii) The next Vāda (4. 1. 22-24) leads us to a denial of all kinds of *nimittas*. This is evidently an aspect of स्वभाववाद Cf. Aśvaghosha's Buddhacarita, 9. 52. Here too the freedom of will is repudiated. This doctrine is really the same as अचिच्छ-ममुत्पत्तिवाद described in the Brahmajālasutta of Digha Nikāya. In the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī (1. 118) Buddhaghoṣa explains the term as 'springing up without a cause', and in the Udāna (6. 5) it is said to signify negation of origin from a cause, whether intrinsic (स्वत उत्पत्तिः) or extrinsic (परत उत्पत्तिः). This is स्वभाववाद pure and simple, and was an old doctrine, associated, in one of its phases, with the name of Makkhaliputta Gosāla who denied not only freedom of will (पुरिमकरि) but also all forms of causality हेतु or प्रत्यय\*. This doctrine is also called अहेतुकवाद and was one of the three views which the Com. on Dhammasangani characterises as incorrigible and hopeless.

(iv) Now the rejection of स्वभाव, own nature or individuality of a thing ends in अभाववाद—a doctrine which is discussed in Sūtras 4. 1. 37-40. This अभाववाद is the preliminary to the historical Śūnyavāda.

(v) This is closely related to the other doctrine, *i. e.* सर्वा-नित्यतावाद, *viz.* that everything is impermanent. This is the

\* Cf. Kaush. Up., 3. 9.

† Samanyaphala Sutta in D. Nik., 2. 10; Uvasagadasa 57.166 (Hoernles Ed., p. 97).

logical antecedent of *technical* श्रणिकवाद of subsequent centuries and was an old view. This view is a truism of Buddhist Literature and need not be stated in detail. .

(vi) The opposite doctrine, *vis.*, सर्वनित्यतावाद (Sūtras 4. 1. 29-33), was also current very widely in early times. The name शाश्वतवाद used sometimes to be given to an aspect of this doctrine though of course with a slightly different shade of meaning. The सर्वान्तिवाद, *i. e.*, the belief that 'Everything Is', of which the Satkāryavāda of Sāṅkhya was a later modification, was the earliest and most general form of this doctrine. Professor Garbe, in his 'Sāṅkhya Philosophie', notes that the Sāśvata Vāda as discussed in the Brahmajālasūtra is the Sāṅkhya view. That Garbe is right would appear from the following declaration in Vyāsabhāṣya (under Yoga Sūt. 11. 15) : उभयग्रन्थाभ्याने (*i. e.*, on denial of उच्छेदवाद and हेतूवाद both) च शाश्वतवादः, इत्येतत् सम्यक्दर्शनम्। And on the other hand we observe that the सर्वनित्यवाद discussion turns on a view which from the very language of its expression we recognise at once to be of the Yogins. Cf. Nyāya Bhāṣya : अवस्थितस्योपादानस्य धर्ममात्रं निवर्तते धर्ममात्रमुपजायते, स खलु उत्पत्तिविनाशयोर्विषयः । यच्चोपजायते तत् प्रागप्युपजननादस्ति । यच्च निवर्तते तन्निवृत्तमप्यस्तीति (under Nyāya Sūtra 4-1-32).

(vii) सर्वपृथक्त्ववाद (Suts. 4-1-34-36) was also known to the earlier Buddhist literature. This view is intimately connected with पुञ्जवाद and therefore with अवयवावयवविवाद in general. The notion that the whole is a mere aggregate of parts and not a distinct entity from them, *i. e.*, that द्रव्य is only a name given to a definite collocation of guṇas, was very old indeed. Away from the Buddhist philosophers it was also partly recognised by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (Cf. गुणसमवायो द्रव्यम्).

(viii) The संख्यैकान्तवाद is very mysterious. Vātsyāyana's interpretation is not clear. It was a doctrine of number, propounded to account for the origin or nature of things. The word एकान्त implies that it was an extreme view. Could it have any connection with the Vedic notion of छन्दः or with some form of the Pythagorean Theory of Number?

All this is guess-work, but very probable. At all events it is plain that the thesis regarding the late origin of some of the Sūtras, especially those referring to the several doctrines, is not

conclusively demonstrated, though it may be admitted that interpolations *do* exist in the Sūtra and in the Bhāṣya. The similarity of ideas, and even in some cases of stray words, does not necessarily prove, as Pandit Phaṇibhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa rightly remarks in his introduction (P.34) to his excellent Bengali translation of Nyāya Sūtra and Bhāṣya, reference to any particular theory of later years, unless it is clearly stated. We know from a study of Indian philosophy and Literature that certain stereotyped sayings have come down from ancient times, and though these may be found in different works they need not be ascribed to any of them. By way of illustration it may be said that Nyāya Sūtra 4-2-32 reminds one of a similarly-worded saying in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (under Pan. 4-1-1): अमत्तु मृगतृष्णावत् गन्धर्वनगरं यथा । आदित्यगतिवत् सच्च वस्त्रान्तर्हितवच्च तत् । Even this verse which is split up into 4 parts and commented on by Patañjali is apparently older than his own time.

What is said of the Sūtras applies to a certain extent to the Bhāṣya also. The interval between the two is not known, but it is certain, as Windisch has already established, that the Bhāṣya was not the immediate successor to the Sūtras. There had been a Vārtika of which some fragments exist, not only on the 1st but even on subsequent chapters. Cf. the Vārtika : गुणविशिष्ट-मात्मान्तरमीश्वरः, तस्यात्मकत्वात् कल्यान्तरानुपपत्तिः under Sūtra 4-1-21. This piece has been explained by Vātsyāyana which practically exhausts the whole Bhāṣya on the Sūtra. Considering this fact a space of 300 or 400 years would not be an unreasonable interval to suppose between the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya. In other words Vātsyāyana may be assigned to the 2nd or 3rd Century B. C.\*

This date would not be incompatible with the general style and structure of his language. The peculiar use of certain particles, viz., इति, अथ, खलु and more particularly of वै would seem to be an indication of the antiquity of the work. The use of वै in prose, which reminds one of the Brahmans and Pāli texts, is remarkable and almost decides the question.

\* It must be confessed that this view too, like the others contested, is no better than a tentative assumption, but it works better on the whole. Any definite conclusion regarding the date of these works must be put off till the results of researches into the history of Pre-Christian thought of India are available to us.

As to the further question of his identity with Kauṭilya and with the author of Kāmasūtra a negative answer has to be given. There does not seem to be any historical evidence in support of this identity. Kauṭilya's attitude towards आन्वर्षिकी and his style of composition are in direct antithesis to the Nyāya Bhāṣya; and as for the Kāmasūtra it is decidedly a later composition. The testimony of lexicographers where these names are put together as synonymous does not go far enough.

### III.—NYĀYA-VĀRTIKA.

The date of Uddyotakara, the author of Nyāya Vārtika, is capable of more exact determination. It is beyond doubt that his Nyāya-Vārtika was intended to be a defence of the Bhāṣya against the attacks of the Buddhist philosopher Diñnāga, whose time is now generally believed to have been the end of the 5th Century A. D. Thus the age of Diñnāga establishes the *terminus a quo* for the date of Uddyotakara, and the *terminus ad quem* is furnished by a reference to his name in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā: न्यायस्थितिमिवोद्योतकरस्वरूपाम् (Hall's Edition, p. 235). Subandhu was unquestionably prior to Bāṇa (705 A. D.) who eulogises on his Vāsavadattā in the Harśacarita (e. g. कवीनामगलददर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया), and probably, as Dr. Gray says (Introduction to the Eng. translation of Vāsavadattā, pp. 8-12), he may have lived in the latter part of the 6th Century or beginning of the 7th Century. From these evidences it would follow that Uddyotakara's literary activities belonged to a period in 600 A. D.

The statement of Vācaspati with reference to the Vārtika (उद्योतकरगवीनामतिजरतीनां समुद्धरणात्) is not however quite intelligible. From what he says it seems that even as late as Vācaspati's day the Vārtika had been an old and antiquated work and apparently fallen into discredit. The expressions समुद्धरणात् and दुस्तरकुनिबन्धपङ्कमज्ञानाम् read together imply that the work had been already overloaded with wrong interpretations. All this involves a long interval of time between Uddyotakara and Vācaspati, though the date for Vācaspati as given in his Nyāyasūcīnibandha be understood to refer to Śaka Era (898=976 A. D.), instead of Samvat which to me seems the most agreeable assumption. Till Subandhu's day Uddyotkar's work had been in the height of its glory, after which some powerful Buddhist Logicians



directed their polemic attacks against it in defence of Dinnāga, and overthrew its reputation. Who these Buddhist Logicians were we do not know. Dharmakīrti might have been one of them and there might have been others from the Buddhist Universities viz., Nālandā and Vikramasīlā. The Buddhist Logic was in its fullest vigour in those days. But it is certain that in this pretty long interval there arose no eminent scholar\* who could come forward and champion the cause of Orthodox Logic—a task which was left for Vācaspati in the 10th Century (or more probably in the 9th Century) to accomplish. The word अतिजरतीनां would therefore imply great antiquity (which though not *very* great would appear as such on account of the neglect of the text) of the Vārtika as well as the unsettled condition to which it was reduced. Udayana informs us that in the work of restoration of Uddyotakara's text Vācaspati was indebted to (his teacher or विद्यागुरु as Vardhamāna says) Trilocana.

Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's identification of Vādaśāstra and Vādaśāstrī with Dharmakīrti's Vādanyāya and Vinīta Deva's Vādanyāya-Vyākhyā is not more than an assumption. Dharmakīrti was a later writer who did much, it seems, to throw Uddyotakara's work into disgrace. If Dharmakīrti's date be accepted as 635 A. D. (Med. Logic, p. 105)—a date which synchronises with the time of Śrī-Harṣa, the patron of Bāṇa, who refers to Subandhu in whose romance, as we have seen, the name of Uddyotakara occurs as the author of a Nyāya treatise—Uddyotakara must be pushed back much earlier. The hypothesis that all these famous writers were contemporaries does not rest on any positive basis.† The two works mentioned in Nyāya-Vārtika cannot yet be determined. Pandit Phaṇi Bhūṣaṇa's suggestion that Vādaśāstrī might have been a commentary on a work by Subandhu—the Buddhist Naiyāyika who had been one of the main objects of Uddyotakara's assaults—is indeed a happy suggestion‡ but no *definite* conclusion can be arrived at from these uncertain data.

\* Udayana refers to this fact उद्योतकरसम्प्रदायो ह्यमूषां (गवीनां) यौवनं, तच्च कालवशाद् गलितमित्र । *Tat. Pari.*, P. 9.

† For Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's arguments see J. R. A. S., July, 1914; Bhandarkar Com. Volume, pp. 163-164.

‡ See his Introduction, p. 39.

Uddyotakara was very deeply and widely read in Buddhist philosophy (post-Mahāyānic), and we find everywhere in his work the unmistakable stamp of a learned and eloquent personality. There are several quotations and hidden allusions to Buddhist literature in the Vārtika which are yet untraced, and it will be some time perhaps before any light can be expected to be thrown upon these obscure passages. What for instance was the Sarvābhisamaya Sūtra to which the Vārtika refers (Ben. Ed. p. 339) and from which it has taken an extract? It seems from the language to have been one of the earlier Buddhist Sūtras and was devoted to the exposition of *Pudgalavāda* against *Nairatmyavāda*. May it be identical with the well-known 'Bhārahāra Sūtra' mentioned in Prajñākara Maṭi's *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (P. 474) and other Buddhist works? Cf. Pouosin's note in J. R. A. S., P. 308.

#### IV.—TĀTPARYATĪKĀ, TĀTPARYA-PARIŚUDDHI AND BHĀṢYA-CANDRA (a) TĀTPARYATĪKĀ.

Vācaspati's age is too well-known to call for any special notice. But the identification of the era mentioned in his Nyāyasūcinibandha, viz., 898 ( **वसुवसु** ) is an open question still; some hold that it stands for Vikrama Samvat, while others protest against this view and accept the Śakābda. In the former alternative the year corresponds to 841 A. D. and in the latter to 976 A. D. On grounds which I have stated elsewhere at length I should prefer the former equation and assign Vācaspati to the middle of the 9th Century. He was a voluminous author and extremely learned in all the systems of philosophy (orthodox and heterodox), on each of which he is said to have written commentaries.\*

#### (b) TĀTPARYA-PARIŚUDDHI

Udayana belonged to the latter half of the 10th Century. He himself mentions 906 Śakābda or 984 A. D. ( **नकास्वराब्द** ) as the year of the composition of Lakṣaṇāvali. His Tātparyapariśuddhi

\* There is no evidence, as far as I know, to support this tradition. Apart from the Buddhist systems even the Vaiśeṣika has been left untouched. Nor does any indication exist in his other commentaries to show that he wrote on Vaiśeṣika or on the Buddhist philosophy. That he was a master of all the systems सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्र stands of course uncontested.

is a valuable Commentary on Vācaspati's work. But he was more than anything else, an intense and original thinker, and it is in such works as the Nyāya-Kusumāñjali and Ātmatattvaviveka that we can find his genius at its best. Besides the *Parīśuddhi*, in which he had to confine himself to the traditional way of interpretation, Udayana wrote also an independent commentary, named बोधसिद्धि or न्यायपरिशिष्ट on the Sūtras of Gotama, which work also has been utilised in the notes on Chapter V. of the present work.

(c) BHĀṢYA-CANDRA.

Not very long ago, Babu Govindadāsa of Benares discovered among a heap of manuscripts said to have belonged to the great Vedānta teacher Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, a manuscript of an entirely unknown commentary on the Nyāyabhāṣya, by one Raghūttama. This unique find he made over to the translator of the Bhāṣya, who has utilised it in his 'notes'. The manuscript however extends to only the middle of Adhāya III, and as the copy appears to be in the author's own handwriting, there is no hope of securing a complete copy. Such as it is, it has been published for the Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series, and Dr. Gaṅgānath Jhā has supplemented the *Candra* by his own gloss, which bears the humble title of '*Khadyota*' and has been published in the same series.

V.—CONCLUSION

The Nyāyabhāṣya and the Nyāya-Vārtika are extremely difficult works, not only for obscurity of style and relative frequency of elliptical expressions (specially in the former) but also for the comparative obsolescence of many of the doctrines which have been therein introduced. The neglect into which the books were allowed to fall during the last millennium, more particularly on the advent of Navya-Nyāya in the 13th or 14th Century, helped only in adding to this obscurity. It is a matter of no small congratulation therefore that we have at last an English translation of these abstruse scholia from the mature pen of a veteran and distinguished scholar, and it may be fairly hoped that the publication of these works, now in their English garb, will bring on a revival of interest in the study of ancient Nyāya Śāstra of India.

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original substance subsisting in them'!; and this thus becomes a case of 'Shifting the Probans'.

[The reason why this is a 'ground for defeat', is as follows]

The second (qualified) probans having been put forward, if the party mentions an Example in corroboration of what is stated in the Probans, then that *manifested thing*, which is cited as 'Example' (which, as example, cannot be included in the Proposition) ceases to be the emanation from a single origin, because, by its very nature (of Example), it must be the emanation from some other origin;\*—if, on the other hand, no Example is cited, then the Probans, not having its truth corroborated by a suitable Example, cannot prove that desired conclusion; so that the Probans turning out to be futile, the 'ground of defeat' remains in force.

### *End of Section (1)*

### SECTION (2)

#### [Sūtras 7--10]

*Dealing with the four Clinchers—(6), (7), (8) and (9) which consist in the non-apprehension of what is needed for the desired purpose.*

#### *Sūtra 7*

**The putting forward of statements bearing no connection with the purpose in hand constitutes (6) 'Irrelevancy'.**

#### BHĀṢYA

The thesis and counter-thesis having been set up in the manner described above, the 'purpose in hand' being the proving of the Probandum by a proper Probans—the First Party might make the following statement:—'That Sound is eternal is proved by the *Heṭu*, because it is intangible' [having said so far he finds that his Proban is not valid, hence he goes on]—'the term *heṭu* is a verbal noun derived from the root *hi* and affix *ṭun*,—a term is either a *Noun* or a *Verb* or a *Preposition*, or *Indeclinable*

\* The proposition is in the form—'all manifested things are etc.:'; if the example is not included in this 'all', then what is predicated of the 'all'

will not be true of the Example; if the Example is also included in it, then no Example can be possible.

Particle ;—the *Noun* is that word which has its form qualified by the fact of the thing denoted by it having a distinct action,—the Verb is either (a) an aggregate of the action and the active agencies, or (b) that which denotes the presence in the active agent, of a certain action qualified by a definite time and number,\* or (c) that which is simply expressed by the root and is qualified by a particular time,—the Indeclinables are those that, in actual usage, have no denotation apart from what is expressed by the Noun or the Verb,—the Prepositions are used as prefixes and serve to qualify the action denoted by the Verb’ ;—and so forth, [all which has nothing to do with the proving of his Proposition] ; and this constitutes ‘Irrelevancy’.

### Sūtra 8

**That which is like the mere repeating of the letters of alphabet is (7) ‘Meaningless Jargon’.**

### BHĀṢYA

*E. g.*, ‘Sound is eternal, because *ka-ca-ṭa-ta-pa* are *ja-ba-ga-da-das*’, † like *jha-bha-ṇa-gha-ḍha-dha-ṣ*’ ;—such statements are absolutely meaningless. Since the mere letters of the alphabet can have no denotation, they cannot express anything ; hence it is the mere letters that are repeated in a certain order.‡

### Sūtra 9

**If the assertion made is such that, though stated three times, it fails to be understood by the audience and the Second Party, it is a case of (8) ‘Un-intelligibility’—**

### BHĀṢYA

If the assertion is made and is not understood by the audience and the Second Party, even though stated three times—and this happens when the assertion consists of words with double meanings, or of such words as are not met with in ordinary

\* The right reading in all Mss. is कारकसंख्याविशिष्ट.

† The right reading is supplied by B and D-कचटतपानां जवगडदशत्वात्.

‡ No such argument is found in actual usage. The *Tātparya* points out that we have an example of this when the Drāviḍa puts forward his argument, for the convincing of an Arya, in his own Vernacular, which conveys no idea to the latter, who is ignorant of the Dravidian tongue ; and for whom the words of that language are only so many letter-sounds.

usage, or when the words are uttered too hurriedly and so forth;—this constitutes ‘Unintelligibility’; since the man makes use of unintelligible expressions intentionally, with a view to cover the weakness of his reasonings,—this constitutes a ‘Ground of Defeat’.

### *Sūtra 10*

**In a case where, there being no connection between the expressions following one another, they are found to afford no connected meaning, it is a case of (9) ‘Incoherence’.**

BHĀṢYA

In a case where, either among several words or several sentences, there is no possibility of proper sequence and connection,—and hence the whole is found to be disconnected,—since there is no meaning obtained from the words or sentences taken collectively, it is a case of ‘Incoherence’. *E.g.* (a) ‘Ten pomegranates, six cakes’ (where there is no connection between the two sentences); (b) ‘Cup—goatskin—flesh—lump—deer-skin\*—of the Virgin—to be drunk—her father—devoid of character’ † Where the words have no connection among themselves.

### *End of Section (2)*

### SECTION (3)

#### [*Sūtras 11–13*]

*Dealing with the (10), (11) and (12) Clinchers—which consist in the wrong presentment of one’s case.*

### *Sūtra 11*

**When the factors of reasoning are stated in the reversed order, it is a case of (10) ‘Inconsequentiality’.**

BHĀṢYA

Among the several Factors of Reasoning, Proposition and the rest, there is a definite natural order, in which they are stated,—which is based upon the nature of what is expressed by each of them; and when a statement is made in which this natural order is reversed,—it becomes a case of that ‘Ground of Defeat’, which

\* C and B and D read रौद्रकम् .

† C and D read अप्रतिशील.



is called 'Inconsequentiality'; which means that what is expressed by the several Factors is not found to form a connected whole.

*Sūtra 12*

**That which is wanting in any one of the Factors of Reasoning is (1) the 'Incomplete'.**

BHĀṢYA

When the statement is wanting in any one of the Factors of Reasoning—Proposition and the rest—it is a case of the 'Ground of Defeat' called 'Incompleteness'; for in the absence of a complete statement of the reasoning, the desired conclusion cannot be established.

*Sūtra 13*

**That which contains superfluous 'Probans' and 'Example' is the (12) 'Redundant'—**

BHĀṢYA

One alone being sufficient for the purpose in view, (when more than one Probans or Examples are put forward), one or the other must be superfluous. This, however, is to be regarded as a 'Ground of Defeat' only when there is a restriction (placed upon the speaker, in regard to stating *only* what is actually necessary for his proposition).

*End of Section (3)*

SECTION (4)

[*Sūtras 14-15*]

*Sūtra 14*

*Dealing with the Clincher (13) Repetition.*

**The re-statement of Words and Ideas constitutes 'Repetition'—except in the case of Reproduction.**

BHĀṢYA

*Except in the case of Reproduction, (a) 'Repetition' of Words and (b) Repetition of Ideas (constitute 'grounds of defeat'); e.g. (a) 'Sound is eternal, Sound is eternal'; here we have 'repetition of words'; and (b) 'Sound is non-eternal, Intonation is liable to destruction'; here we have the 'repetition of the Idea' (of Sound*

being not everlasting). In the case of 'Reproduction' it is not 'Repetition' (a Ground of Defeat); because in that case the re-statement serves an additional purpose; when for instance, 'the re-statement of the Proposition on the basis of the Statement of the Probans constitutes the Final Conclusion'. (Sū. 1-1-39).

### Sūtra 15

**The actual statement by means of directly expressive words of what is already implied—**

BHĀṢYA

is *Repetition*,\*—this term coming in from the preceding Sūtra.

Example [of this second kind of Repetition]—Having asserted that 'Sound is non-eternal, because it has the character of being produced', if the man goes on to add 'only that which does not have the character of being produced can be eternal', which words are expressive of the idea that is already got by 'implication'—this should be regarded as 'Repetition'; because words are used only for the purpose of conveying a meaning, and when this has already been done by implication [the actual using of words to the same effect is superfluous].

### End of Section (4)

### SECTION (5)

### [Sūtras 16-19]

*Dealing with the four Clinchers—(14), (15), (16) and (17)—which denote incompatibility with the right method of Answer.*

### Sūtra 16

**If the First Party fails to re-state what has been stated (by the Second Party) three times, and duly understood by the audience, it is a case of (14) 'Non-reproduction'.**

BHĀṢYA

When the meaning of the sentence has been duly understood by the audience, and it has been stated by the Opponent three times,—if the First Party fails to re-state it, it is a 'Ground of

\* The Nyāyasūcīnibandha, the Tātparya and Sū. Ms. D. makes 'पुनरुक्तम्' part of the Sūtra 15, itself, but this is not in keeping with the Bhāṣya.

Defeat' named 'Non-reproduction'. Because, unless he re-states the position of the Opponent, on the basis of what would be put forward his arguments against that position?\*

*Sūtra 17*

**When the statement is not comprehended it is a case of (15) 'Incomprehension'.**

BHĀṢYA

When the statement (of the Opponent) has been understood by the Audience, and has been repeated, by the Opponent, three times, if the First Party still fails to comprehend it, this is the 'Ground of Defeat' named 'Incomprehension'. Without understanding what the Opponent has said, whose refutation would be set forth?

*Sūtra 18*

**It is (16) 'Embarassment' when the Party does not know the answer.**

BHĀṢYA

The 'answer' consists in the confutation of the Opponent's view†; when the Party does not know this, he is 'Defeated'.

*Sūtra 19*

**When the Party breaks off the discussion under the pretext of business, it is a case of (17) 'Evasion'.**

BHĀṢYA

When the Party puts forward the pretext of having to do something else, and breaks off the discussion, saying—'I have got to do such and such a work, I shall resume the discussion after having finished that work,'—this is the 'Ground of Defeat' named 'Evasion.' In such a case, since every discussion ends with a single 'Clincher', the man, by breaking off in the said manner, concludes the discussion into which he had entered, and thus the discussion taken up after the lapse of some time, would be a new discussion.

*End of Section (5)*

\* Though the man does not understand it, he does not say so;—if he did, it would be a case of 'Incomprehension'. Nor does he desist from the discussion;—if he did, it would be a case of 'Evasion'.—*Bodhasiddhi*.

† पक्षप्रतिषेधः is the right reading as in C and D.

## SECTION (6)

[Sūtras 20-22]

*Dealing with the three Clinchers—(18), (19) and (20)—which bear upon flaws in the Statements.*

*Sūtra 20*

**If the Party admits the flaw in his own thesis, and then urges the same in that of the Opponent,—this is a case of (18) ‘Confessing the Contrary Opinion’.**

## BHĀṢYA

When the Party admits that defect in his thesis which has been urged against it by the Opponent—and without trying to show that his statement is free from that defect, he simply says—‘the same defect is found in your statement also’,—he admits the defect in his own thesis, and then tries to apply the same to that of the Opponent ; and in doing this he admits the opinion of the other party regarding his own thesis, and as such becomes subject to the ‘ground of defeat’ called ‘Confessing the Contrary Opinion’.

*Sūtra 21*

**When one Party has rendered himself subject to a ‘Clincher’, if the other party fails to bring it home to him (by directly charging him with it),—the latter himself becomes subject to the Clincher of (19) ‘Overlooking the Censurable’.—**

## BHĀṢYA

What is meant by the man being ‘Censurable’ is that he becomes open to the contingency of the application of the ‘Clincher’ being brought home to him ; the ‘overlooking’ of this means that he does *not* directly charge his opponent with the words—‘You have become subject to a Clincher or Ground of Defeat’.

This ‘Ground of Defeat’ however can be pointed out: only by the audience, when directly appealed to with the question—‘Who is defeated?’ The man himself, who had rendered himself open to a Clincher, could not very well show his own cloven feet (by saying ‘I had rendered myself subject to a Clincher, and you failed to urge it against me’).

## Sūtra 22

When one party urges a 'Clincher' when there is no 'Clincher' (incurred by the other party),—it is a case of (20) 'Censuring the Un-censurable'.

BHĀṢYA

It is only when the man has a wrong conception of the true character of the 'Clincher' that he can urge—'You are defeated'—against the other Party, who in fact, has *not* rendered himself subject to a 'Clincher'; and in doing so, since he would be censuring one who does not deserve to be censured, he should be regarded as 'defeated'.\*

## Sūtra 23

Having taken up one standpoint, if the party carries on the discussion without restriction,—it is a case of (21) 'Inconsistency'.—

BHĀṢYA

Having affirmed a certain character in regard to a thing, if the party carries on further discussion *without restriction*—i.e., even contrary to the view taken up before—it should be regarded as a case of 'Inconsistency'. E.g. 'An entity never renounces itself; there can be no distinction in what exists—that which is non-existent can never come into existence,—no non-existent thing is ever produced'; having taken up this standpoint, the *Sāṅkhya* goes on to establish this thesis in the following manner:— 'All that is manifested must be regarded as emanating from a single origin, because there is a common substratum running through all emanations,—and in the case of the Earthen Cup and such things it is found that they have the substratum of *Clay* running through them all, and are the emanations from a single origin—and all manifested things are found

\* This is not the same as 'Embarassment', as in this latter the man does not know what to say in answer, while in 'Censuring the Un-censurable' he says something, as the *answer*, which is not an answer at all. It is for this reason that this 'Clincher' includes all *Futile Rejoinders*. The difference between this and 'Fallacious Probans' lies in this that the 'Fallacious Probans' when pointed out, tends to the 'defeat' of the propounder of the argument, while 'Censuring the Un-censurable' is urged against the person who is answering an argument.— *Tātparyā*.

to have Pleasure, Pain, and Delusion running through them all,—and from seeing the subsistence of this common substratum in these—Pleasure, Pain, and Delusion,—we conclude that the whole of this Universe must be the emanation from a single origin’.\*—When he has said this he is met (by the Logician) with the following question—‘How is it to be determined that a certain thing is the *origin*, and another the *emanation*?’—Thus questioned, *Sāṅkhya* answers—‘That which itself remains constant while one character of it ceases to exist and another comes into existence is the *origin*; and the character that ceases to exist and comes into existence is the *emanation*.’†

Now here we find that the *Sāṅkhya* has carried on discussion without any restriction, without regard to the view taken up by him before, in fact even contrary to the opinion accepted before. For the opinion accepted by him at the outset was—‘the non-existent can never come into existence—the existent cannot cease to exist’; and it is a well-known fact that unless there is cessation of existence of what has been *existent*, or ‘coming into existence’ of what has been *non-existent*, there can be no *disappearance* or *appearance*; e.g. when, the Clay remaining constant, its own character, in the shape of the *Cup*, comes into existence, it is said to *appear*, and when it has ceased to exist, it is said to *disappear*;—all this should not be possible (according to the *Sāṅkhya* standpoint) even in connection with the character of the Clay. Having all this urged against himself, if the *Sāṅkhya* comes to admit that what is *existent* does *cease to exist*, and what is *non-existent* does *come into existence*,—then he becomes subject to the Clincher of ‘Inconsistency’; while if he does not admit the said facts, his thesis fails to be established.‡

\* The right reading is एकसकृतीर्द्वैविध्यमिति, as found in D.

† The best reading of this passage is found in the *Tātparyā* and D—यस्यावस्थितस्य धर्मान्तरनिवृत्तौ यद्धर्मान्तरं प्रवर्तते सा प्रकृतिः यद्धर्मान्तरमप्रवर्तते निवर्तते वा स विकार इति. In the case of the Jar, the Clay is the constant factor; while the varying shapes of the Jar, Cup etc., are the *emanations*.

‡ Without the said fact, no distinction is possible between ‘Origin’ and ‘Emanation’; and without this distinction, the original Proposition of the *Sāṅkhya* can have no meaning.

*Sūtra 24*

**(22) The 'Fallacious Probans' also, (are Clinchers) as they have been already described.**

## BHĀṢYA

The 'Fallacious Probans' also are 'Grounds of Defeat'. *Question*—"Is it on account of the presence of some other character that the Fallacious Probans comes to be regarded as *Clinchers*,—just in the same way as the 'Instruments of Cognition' come to be regarded as 'Objects of Cognition'?"

In answer to this the *Sūtra* says—as *they have been described*; i.e., it is in the character of the 'Fallacious Probans' itself that they become 'Grounds of Defeat' (Clinchers) also.

Thus have the Instruments of Right Cognition and other categories been duly *mentioned, defined and examined*.

'The Science of Reasoning that revealed itself to the Sage Akṣapāda, the chief of exponents,—of that Vātsyāyana has propounded the Commentary.'

Thus ends the Second Daily Lesson of the Fifth Discourse in the *Bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana.

FINIS

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## THE RISE OF MAURYA IMPERIALISM

(A Cultural Study of Pre-Mauryan India)

By Budha Prakash, M.A.

देशोऽस्ति मगधाभिख्यो वसुधामुखमण्डनम् ।

अप्येकवारमुत्तानि लूतान्यपि हि कर्षकैः ।

तत्र धान्यानि दूर्वावत्प्ररोहन्ति मुहुर्मुहुः ॥

सर्वत्राप्युर्वैवोर्ध्वं काले वर्धति वारिदः ।

धर्मकर्मरतो लोकस्तत्रधर्मैकसद्गतिः ॥ —Hemachandra.

A glance at the map of India would reveal that Magadha, modern Bihar and parts of Eastern U. P., is the safest and most closely guarded part of Northern India. To the North it is bounded by the lofty ranges of the Himālayas and southwards it is bordered by the stream of the Ganges. To the West lies the plain of the Gangetic valley, which is guarded by the gateway of Delhi against all attacks from the North. The desert of Rājputānā and the ranges of the Himālayas protect this natural fortresses north and south. Only to the west is the long stretch of the fertile plains of the Punjab, which serves as a glacis to the main citadel. In the early history of this country this glacis was repeatedly overrun by hordes of Asiatic nomads, but they could produce no impression on the destinies of the people so long as the gate-way i. e., the doab was held by a strong power and even after the capture of Delhi the immensity of Eastern spaces contended against the Northern invaders. We learn from Hiuen-Tsang that the Huna King Mihirakula was

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1. Pariśiṣṭaparvan ed. Jacobi, p. 1-2.

lured into the interiors of space by the retreating forces of Bālāditya and the forced marches so isolated him from the base of his operations viz. Erāṇ, that he was soon entrapped and defeated by the retreating columns. Likewise the raid of Menander on Pāṭaliputra under Demetrius (cir. 172 B. C.) and the occupation of Magadha by Vanaspara, the Kuṣāṇa general, were temporary and abortive efforts. As for the invasions of Cyrus and Alexander the Great, they spent their force in scaling the glacis and hence could not have the slightest influence on the destiny of the people.

It was to Magadha that the centre of political gravity shifted after the Mahābhārata war. We learn from the Ādi-parvan of the great epic that the Nāgas swooped down the Punjab on the Madhyadeśa and slew King Parikṣita and that the wild tribes of the deserts became so assertive as to molest the Victorious Arjuna. But Parikṣita's son Janamejaya was a great militant ruler who crushed the Nāga menace and conquering up to Taxila, held court in that famous city. Janamejaya's successors were, however, weaklings and they had to leave Indraprastha for Kauśāmbi, evidently under duress of constant disturbances and irruptions of the primitive tribes. The fortunes of the Kauravas went on declining and by the time of the Buddha Koravya, the titular ruler of the realm had little political importance of his own.<sup>1</sup> The pendulum, then, swung to Kāśi and Kośala, which under the Brahmādattas and Janakas respectively were the most important powers in Northern India. There was a time when King Manoja of Kāśi was able to subdue the Kings of Kośala, Aṅga and Magadha.<sup>2</sup> At another time the Kingdom of Āśmaka became a dependency of Kāśi.<sup>3</sup> But ultimately Kāśi passed under the hegemony of Kośala and was given away by Prasenajit as Nahān-chuṇṇa-mulla to his sister, who was married to King Bimbisāra of Magadha. Thus Kāśi definitely came under the supremacy of Magadha and lost all dreams of her rise.

1. Majjhima-Nikāya, II, 214.

2. Cf. Sonananda Jātaka.

3. Cf. Assaka Jātaka.

In the 6th century B. C. India presented a Kaleidoscopic pattern of changing dynasties and shifting states. Continuous bloc-making and log-rolling and fleeting alliances and dissensions coupled with tremendous efforts of every state to win for herself the imperial position reddened the politics of Northern India with blood. The traditional duel of the Kurus and the Pāñchālas continued and the Mahābhārata tells us that the division of the Pāñchāla kingdom into Northern Pāñchāla and Southern one was effected in fulfilment of a treaty between the kings of Pāñchāla and Kuru-land, after the former had been worsted by the latter. The Saurāṣṭrās were ruled over by Rudrāyaṇa, a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha who was killed by his wicked son Śikhaṇḍin exactly as his famous contemporary was starved to death by Ajātaśatru. Rudrāyaṇa's minister Bhiru carved out an independent principality for himself with Bhirukaccha as its capital.<sup>1</sup> Coming to the east we almost step into the crucible of power-politics. Besides warring republics e. g. the Śākyas and the Koliyas who used to quarrel on the water of the river Rohiṇī<sup>2</sup> and the Mallas and the Licchavis whose conflicts<sup>3</sup> were only quelled by the menace of Ajātaśatru, there were four big monarchies ruled by illustrious personages—Magadha by Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru, Kosala by Prasenajit and Vidudarbha, Kauśāmbi by Udayana and Ujjain by Pradyota—who were always at daggers drawn among themselves.

Bimbisāra was the immediate successor of his father Bhaṭṭiya, while according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar his title Śreniya signified that he was a general, who accomplished a coup d'état at Girivraja which was formerly under the Vajjians of Veśālī.<sup>4</sup> He contracted marital alliance with the Licchavis and Kosalans and entered into friendship with king Pukkusati of Taxila evidently for commercial facilities, as Taxila was a big emporium of trade. Thus securing his rear he attacked and exterminated king Brahmadatta of Aṅga. His son humbled

1. Divyāvadāna ed. Powell, p. 576.

2. Cf. Preface to the Kuṇāla Jātaka.

3. Cf. Bhaddasāla Jātaka.

4. D. R. Bhandarkar : Carmichael lectures 1918, p. 72.



Prasenajit of Kosala, took Kāśi back from him and annexed the Lichchavi realm.

Likewise Prasenajit was the liege-lord of five kings viz.—his brother who was the viceroy of Kāśi, Pāyāsi of Setavya, the ruler of the Kālāmas of Keśaputta and the President of the Śākya, besides himself.<sup>1</sup> Prasenajit's son Vidudarbha perpetrated a massacre of the Śākya.

Udayana of Kauśāmbi was no less ambitious and enterprising in his aggressive schemes. The Kathāsaritsāgara contains a long account of his Digvijaya and the Priyadarśikā of Harṣa speaks of his victory over the Lord of Kalinga and the restoration of his father-in-law Dṛdhavarman to the throne of Aṅga, which was captured by Bimbisāra.

Pradyota of Avanti was equally powerful. In the Purāṇas he is described as one who has subjugated his subordinates (Prapatasāmantah) and the Aṅguttaranikāya states that Bimbisāra fortified Magadha in apprehension of an attack of his territories by Pradyota. He also waged war with Pukkusati of Taxila and was only saved from disaster by the outbreak of hostilities between Pukkusati and the Pāṇḍavas.<sup>2</sup>

Out of these conflicts for supremacy Magadha emerged triumphant. Śiśunāga captured Avanti and the Nandas conquered the whole regions east of the Jumna. They overran Kalinga also and the fame of their fabulous wealth was echoed in Dravidian lands of the South. Thus at the time of Chandraguṇṭha Maurya Magadha possessed the military strength of 20,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots and 3000 elephants.

All these developments were motivated by economic forces. From Buddhist literature we learn of the great expansion of trade and industry. The Bāveru Jātaka speaks of India's maritime intercourse with Babylonia and the Balahassa Jātaka refers to trade with Tāmraparṇi (Ceylon). The suppāraka Jātaka relates the voyage of a merchant-ship carrying 600 passengers for four months across the six seas. The Saṅkha Jātaka offers an account

1. H. C. Raychoudhury : Political History of Ancient India, p. 132.

2. Laçote : Essay of Guṇādhya and the Brihatkathā (Eng. trans.), p. 176.

of a ship-wreck of a merchantship on its way to Suvarṇabhūmi. The Mahānidessa speaks of India's maritime commerce with Yona and Paramayona in the West and Kālamukh (Arakān Coast) Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) Vesuṅga (Ptolemy's Chryse Chora) Verāpath (?) Takkola, 'Tamli (Tāmraliṅga in Malaya Peninsula according to Sylvain Lévi) Tambapaṇṇi and Jāva.<sup>1</sup> The Apadāna expressly mentions the visits of merchants from Malaya and the distant land of China. About the evidence contained in the epics Dr. Raychoudhury<sup>2</sup> says: "The epic traveller crosses the Himālayas and finds stretching before him the ocean of sands, Bālukārṇava, apparently the deserts of Gobi, and in that neighbourhood the lofty central plateau of Asia and beyond it, the Airāvata Varṣa or the borders of the Arctic ocean—'Uttarāḥ Payasām nidhi' of the Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa. Aristoxenus and Eusebius refer to the presence in Athens, as early as the 4th cent. B.C., of Indians who discussed philosophy with Socrates."<sup>3</sup>

This great contact with outer people immeasurably expanded the volume of trade. As Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids writes: "Silks, Muslins, the finer sorts of cloth and cutlery and armour, brocades, embroideries and drugs and perfumes, ivory and ivory work, jewellery and gold—these were the main articles in which the merchants dwelt."<sup>4</sup> "The Caravans," he goes on, "long lines of small two-wheeled carts, each drawn by two bullocks were a distinctive feature of the times.....There were no made roads and no bridges.....There were taxes and octroi duties at every different station entered.....The cost of such carriage must have been great, so great that only the more costly goods could bear it."<sup>5</sup> Thus the learned doctor himself suggests that the mounting trade volume and the increasing business enterprise were seriously handicapped by the absence of a stabilized central government.

1. Sylvain Lévi: *Ptolemic, le Niddesa et la Bṛihat-kathā Etudes Asiatiques* (1925).

2. *Proceedings of the 3rd Indian History Congress (Calcutta)* p. 507.

3. Raychoudhury: *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 246 (Foot-note quoting Rawlinson.)

4. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 100.

5. *Ibid*: p. 98.

Not only was the foreign trade undergoing a boundless expansion but internal commerce and economic organization were also striding forward so as to outpace the older occupational distinctions and the prevalent social texture. In cities there were guilds of traders, almost autonomous in their affairs, formulating their own laws and customs in a spirit of democratic concord. So important did they become in the estimation of the people and the kings that Ajātaśatṛu asked the Buddha : "What in the world is the good of your renunciation, of joining an order like yours ? Other people (he gives the list of 25 occupations) by following ordinary crafts, get something out of them. They can make themselves comfortable in this world and keep their families in comfort, can you sir ! declare to me any such immediate fruits, visible in this world, of the life of a recluse."¹

The mighty revolution that these economic changes had accomplished in the caste conceptions of the Hindus is thus described by Dr. Hermann Oldenberg : "In the Buddhist period the advance of civilization dissolved the old union. Big towns now formed the centre of life. In the towns or before the gates of towns lay the great, perhaps the greatest, part of the scenes of the transactions that the Buddhist texts relate. In these cities there had grown up a rich and highly prosperous merchant class.....They were the residence of a highly progressive artisan class ramifying into many branches and the force of circumstances had driven masses of persons of Aryan descent into the arts and crafts, which at one time were, as a rule, the occupation of the Śūdras.....Guilds and corporations of merchants and artisans stepped into the foreground as adequately representing the actual situation and its living interests, pushing into the background such concepts as those of Vaiśya or Śūdra."²

It were these economic forces which gave rise to the greatest movement for freedom and equality viz. Buddhism thus

1. Dighanikāya I, 51st Sutta. Rhy. David's translation.

2. Oldenberg : On the History of the Caste System, translated by H. C. Chakladar in Indian Antiquary (1920), pages 205-224.

proving the Maxian thesis of the economic determination of history.

Now we come to the consideration of another aspect of the problem viz. the Aryanization of India and the broadening of cultural outlook. In the Post Mahābhārata Period the culture of the Hindus was so much overwhelmed by exotic and primitive influences that in response it contracted itself narrower and narrower. In the Kārṇaparvan we have an interesting scene of the quarrel between Kārṇa and Madra, when both of them incriminate each other and go to the extent of abusing their respective countries and customs. Kārṇa trenchantly criticizes the morals of the Vāhikas—the people of the riparian tracts of the Punjab—and points to their looseness of manners and muddle of castes. Ultimately he winds up with the remark :

भद्रकेषु च संसृष्टं शौचं गान्धारकेषु च ।

राज-याजक-याज्ये च नष्टं दत्तं हविर्भवेत् ॥

Madra also takes cudgels against the people of Bengal over whom Kārṇa ruled.

आतुराणां परित्यागः सदारमुत्तक्रियः ।

अंगेषु वर्तते कर्णं येषामधिपतिर्भवान्' ॥

Baudhāyana also prescribes a penance for those who chance to visit the eastern lands that are inhabited by the Vṛātyas. The Āyāraṅgasutta of the Jains describes the inhabitants of Rāḍha country as rude and generally hostile to the ascetics. When the ascetics appeared near their villages, they used to set dogs upon them, uttering the syllables "chu chu."<sup>2</sup> But this narrowness was vanishing as the Indians were coming into contact with larger and larger sections of people both inside and outside their country. Great ṛṣies followed by their disciples were disseminating the culture of the Aryas in distant lands. The Sutta-Nipāta informs us of a sage Bāvarin, the Guru of King Prasenajit of Kosala who had his hermitage on the Godāvāri in the Assaka terretory in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The colonizing spirit of the Aryans is evidenced by the Pāṇḍu people, who

1. Mahābhārata : Kārṇaparvan, 45 etc.

2. B. C. Law : India as described in early Jain and Buddhist texts, p. 117.

first inhabited the regions round about Mathura, but proceeded downwards till they reached the extreme of the Deccan and gave their name viz. Pāndya to the territory as also the name of their famous town to the one established by them in Deccan viz. Madura. The story of the migrations of this enterprising Aryan tribe does not end here. We have to note that there is a 3rd Madura in Ceylon and also a 4th Madura in the eastern Archipelago.<sup>1</sup> The Tamils make Agastya, the founder of their race and literature and call him by way of eminence 'Tamiṣa-muni.'<sup>2</sup> The effect of this Aryanization on increasing social contact was felt in the wonderful mobility of occupations that characterized that period. The Brāhmaṇas were not an exclusive category or a rigid class. They recruited themselves from all people and adopted their avocations and callings. The Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka classifies Brāhmaṇas into ten categories—physicians, (Tikicchhasamā) servants, (Parichārakasamā) tax-collectors, (Niggāhakasamā), diggers of the soil, (Khāṇughātasamā) tradesmen, (Vāṇijakasamā), butchers (Goghātakāḥ), hunters (Luddhahakasamā), bathers or the Yajñikas (Malmajjanasamā). The Mahāsutasomajātika mentions a rich Brāhmaṇa who carried on trade between the east-end and west-end of India in 500 wagons and the Phandana Jataka narrates the story of a Brāhmaṇa who became a Carpenter. Not only was this mobility manifest among the castes alone, but it also assumed importance among the Indian freemen and slaves.<sup>3</sup> At length there remained no cut and dry distinction between freemen and slaves and the Greek Megasthenes was spell-bound to witness the absence of slavery in India.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar explains this liberty from castes by supposing that Brāhmaṇical culture did not penetrate and influence the eastern regions up to the advent of the Śungas. In his latest book he says: "Real Brahmanism did not penetrate east India before the rise of the Śungas. The stubbornest opposition to the spread of Brahmanism in this part of India

1. D. R. Bhandarkar : Carmichael Lectures (1918), p. 12.

2. Ibid, p. 12.

3. Cf. the Majjhimanikāya :

अय्यो हुत्वा दासो होति दासो हुत्वा अय्यो होति

was offered by the Vṛṣalas, who had a civilization of their own, exhibited in the religious domain, principally, by the śramaṇa sects who had many tenets in common which were anti-Brahmanical."<sup>1</sup> But this is not the whole truth. King Bimbisāra gave over Aṅga as an appanage to the Brāhmaṇas and Prasenañit of Kośala was quite friendly towards them. Brahmanical sacrifices were frequent in these parts of the country. "The performance of great sacrifices by the Vedic ascetics in the three regions of Gayākhetta was a notable annual function eagerly awaited by all the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha."<sup>2</sup> The real fact has been grasped by Fick who says: "the world of India was one in which the ancient priestly class had lost its authority."<sup>3</sup> Even a barber like Upāli could become the greatest custodian of Buddhist Discipline (Vinaya).

Now a word about philosophy and religion. In the post-Mahābhārata period, there was a reaction against the dry ritualism and antiquated privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. The trend was towards a fresh searching of the standard of human values and for this purpose the thinkers of this period appealed to the world of spirit as expressing itself through the agencies of cognition. So in the Upaniṣads we not only discover a transcendental universalism but also a strong sense of interrogation and stock-taking. "The creative genius of the older Upaniṣad period was followed by a new spirit of free thinking and sophism under the influence of which the intuitional philosophy of the Upaniṣad became sectarian in the hands of the Brāhmaṇa wanderers, a chaotic state of conflicting ideas and the sentiments when philosophy failed to provide a correct and comprehensive view of the universe and a sound and rational theory of life, acting as an unfailing guide to human conduct and affording a general standard for the determination of ethical values."<sup>4</sup> Hence

1. D. R. Bhandarkar : Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, p. 53.

2. B. M. Barna : Gaya and Buddha Gaya, p. 110.

3. Social organization in Buddha's time etc. (Eng. trans. by S. K. Mitra).

4. B. M. Barua : Ajivikas (Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta, 1920, Vol. II, Pp. 1-80).

we find a varied and brilliant galaxy of great thinkers and teachers, who are mentioned in the Sammaññaphalasutta of the Dighanikāya. Purāṇa Kassapa was a transcendentalist who claimed that the soul could not be affected by the moral or immoral action of man. Pakudha Kaccāyana was an eternalist maintaining that both soul and the world are unchanging realities. Ajitkeśakambali was an avowed atheist denying as he did the possibility of continuance of personal existence after death, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta was a great sceptic and Nigantha Nāthaputta (Mahāvīra) was a great moralist who stressed the four-fold path of self restraint. Lastly, there was Mankkhali Gośāla, the founder of the Ājīvika sect who was a scientific naturalist and like Darwin propounded the theory of the biological revolution of life. (Pauṭṭa Pariṇāmavāda). Then there was the great Buddha who proclaimed collective good as determined by practical conduct as the surest guide of human action. Like a great rationalist, which he really was, Buddha emphasized vigilance and close circumspection as the surest remedy of the miseries of the world.<sup>1</sup> As Dr. B. M. Barua says: "historically viewed the rise of early Buddhism means the final evolution of the way of Samma and the final fulfilment of the ideal of Majjha. It is indeed by Majjha, or determination of the central point, the farthest logical reach that the centuries of thought evolution, religious evolution, cultural evolution and moral evolution in India were sought to be directed."<sup>2</sup> This sense of synthesis and syncretism did not only confine itself to religious or moral domain but also reflected itself in the political wish of a centralized state. We cannot do better than quote Dr. B. M. Barua once more: "The tendency of amalgamation was very pronounced in the very spirit of the time. The different records of the Brāhmaṇas, the Jains and Buddhists concur in pointing to a time when the rival religious sects had to make a compromise among them by accepting the deities of one another, especially to an epoch when the emperor was

1. Cf. His last words as recorded in the Mahāparinibhāna suttānta.

हन्दा दानि भिक्खवे । आमन्तयामि वो । वयधम्मा सक्खारा अप्पमादेन सम्पादेथ ।

2. B. M. Barua: Early Buddhism in Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. I, p. 251.

worshipped as a god. Such changes in Indian religion were coeval with the foundation of an empire and consequent on the growth of the idea of personality in religion and state."<sup>1</sup> To come to the truth we find that a world religion, such as Buddhism sought to become urgently required the auspices of a powerful universal sovereign. Without the protection and patronage of great kings no religion can aspire to become dominant in the world. Hence we find that the Buddhists were ardently waiting for the advent of a great sovereign who should harness the full force of the state for the dissimination of the gospel of peace and freedom. Thus in *Lakkhaṇasuttānata*, Aśoka was anticipated long before he appeared in the world :

राजा चक्रवर्ती धम्मिको धम्मराज चातुरन्तो विजितावि । सो इमं पठवीं  
सागरं परियन्तं अट्ठहेन असत्थेन धम्मेन अभिविजिय अज्यावसति<sup>2</sup> ।

Along with the development of rational spirit and cosmopolitan mood we find a growing civic sense and political morality. Amidst the small villages centering round the rice-fields of Eastern Himālayan Tarai and inhabited by rustic and unsophisticated yet free-minded and independent people were developed the firstlings of Indian democracy and republicanism. The property of land-plots vested collectively in the whole of the villagers. None of them was individually authorized to alienate or mortgage the plot cultivated by him. Periodically the villagers met under the spacious branches of some tree, were presided over by the headman and discussed their affairs, both judicial and administrative. Their only relation with the central government comprised of the payment of a share from their produce and there was nothing like *Corvée* or forced labour. "On the contrary the villagers are described as uniting of their own accord to build mote-halls, rest-houses and reservoirs, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages and even to lay out parks. And it is interesting to find that women are proud to bear a part in such works of public utility."<sup>3</sup>

Likewise the standard of civic morality in cities was fairly high. Every city was divided into streets abutted upon by rows

1. B. M. Barua : *Ajivikas*, op. cit.

2. D. R. Bhandarkar : *Aśoka*, p. 233.

3. Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India*, p. 49.



of houses and peopled by artisans and shop-keepers, who were not unoften localized in particular streets. Every city was provided with a seven storeyed house (Satta-bhūmaka-Pāsāda) like the one standing at Pulastipura in Ceylon, a public gambling-hall and a hot-air-bath. Some of the cities were surrounded by walls—Vésali being encircled by a triple wall each wall standing at a distance of a league from the next and was provided with three gates and watch towers.<sup>1</sup> These cities had their own governing bodies (Paura Jānapada) which exercised great functions even in imperial times. We learn from the :Mahāvamśa that the citizens of Pāṭaliputra deposed King Nāgadāsa, "thinking that it is a parricides' family and anointed for the benefit of all, the respected minister Śiśūnāga."<sup>2</sup> These citizens were also instrumental in the overthrow of the Nandas.<sup>3</sup> Even in the hey-day of Maurya empire the Paura asserted its right to revolt against the tyranny of the government.<sup>4</sup>

At Kapilavastu, there was a mote-ball, where the delegates of the people met under the President, presided over by the speaker (Vinayadhara) and called to the seats by the whips (Gaṇapūraka)—arranged for them by the Āsanasansthāpaka, discussed matters, voted by casting chips of wood in a vase, which were collected by the Ślākāgrahāpaka, and passed their measures (ñatti) by majority vote. At Veśālī the 7707 members of the Assembly consecrated by the waters of the famous Puṣkaraṇi met and decided their affairs in a spirit of affection and amity. Their judicial system, with its uniformity and guarantees of justice is even today a model for the modern states.

1. Cf. Ekappaṇṇa Jātaka.

2. Mahāvamśa : Hindi translation by Anand Kausalyāyana, p. 15.

3. Cf. Mudrārākṣasa Act.

दग्धवासम्भ्रान्तपौरद्विजगणरहितान्नद्वंशप्ररोहान्

4. Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 371.

अथ राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्य तक्षशिला नाम नगरं विरुद्धं । तत्र राज्ञा बिन्दुसारेणा-  
शोको विसर्जितः । यावत् कुमारश्चतुरङ्गेन बलकायेन तक्षशिलां गतः । श्रुत्वा तक्षशिला  
निवासिनः पौराः प्रत्युद्गम्य च कथयन्ति ' न वयं कुमारस्य विरुद्धा नापि बिन्दुसारस्य  
अपितु दुष्टामात्या अस्माकं परिभवं कुर्वन्ति ।

Besides their civic sense and philosophic talents, the people in those days did not lack in aesthetic attainments and artistic taste. The Licchavis were a people of brilliant complexion and were luxurious and at the same time most warlike and strong in their national unity. According to their national custom, the most handsome girl was reserved for the pleasure of the people. Courtezans were highly respected for their culture and artistic accomplishments and some of them were millionaires. King Bimbisāra had prince Abhaya by Āmrāpālī and the Buddha did not scruple in taking his meal at her house. The Greek writers inform us that the Kāthians, who offered a desperate resistance to Alexander near Amritsara and whose philosophic contributions still survive in the Kāthopaniṣad and the Kāthaka Saṁhitā of the Yajurveda, chose the most handsome man as their King. Children who were two months old were examined by state physicians and if they did not conform to the prescribed standard of beauty and physique, were instantly disposed of.<sup>1</sup> This is the high-water mark of collectivism which can be ever thought of. Among the Vṛṣṇis good-looks and fine eloquence were highly prized. Once when Kṛṣṇa being defeated in an election for presidentship of the League sought the advice of Nārada, the latter rebuked him for his lack of eloquence.

One more interesting thing remains to be noted—viz. the development of military strategy and the revolutionizing of war-fare. In his war with Ajātaśatru, Prasenajit showed the marvels of the strategy of retreat, whereas Magadha developed the art of fortifications and siege. In the Vajjian War the use of Mahāśilā kaṇṭhaka and Rathasnusala was made with great profit. Rathmusala, according to the Uvasagadasao was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which running about effected a great destruction of men. Similarly the cart-strategy employed by the Kāthians against Alexander proved very successful though the battle was lost in the end.

An indication of the maturity of mass-mind and the general ripeness and strength of contemporary culture is afforded by the

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1. MacCrindle : Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 279. Diodorus speaks it about the people ruled over by Sopeithes.

readiness with which kings and people were coming closer and closer to each other. If the leaders of public opinion like Buddha etc. were dreaming of a Chakravarti Dhārmika Dharma-rāja, the kings also were solicitous towards them. King Bimbisāra saw the Buddha repeatedly and endowed his order with the famous deer-park. He also visited the Mahāvīra when the latter was staying in the courtyard of the temple Gaṇaśīla near Rājgrha. King Prasenajit used to put before the Buddha even his administrative difficulties e. g. the curbing of the robbers led by Angulimāla. Ajātaśatru struck with remorse after killing his father sought consolation at the feet of the Buddha saying :—

पतितोहं घोरं नरकं कं शरण्यं वृणोम्यहम् ।

सर्वैर्ब्रान्धवैस्सकवा अविश्वास्योहं तदा जने' ॥

He even consulted him as to the means of conquering the Licchavis and the Buddha laying stress on the unity and concord of their republic implicitly remarked that dissension should be sown amongst them. It was in pursuance of this advice that Vasakāra was sent to destroy the unity of the Vajjians. Even Nanda, the Usurper and notorious for his avarice, patronized the Brāhmanas in order to win their support and root out their disgust for his mean origin :<sup>2</sup> Nanda also constructed an aquaduct in Kalinga before the excavation of the Sudarśana lake by Chandragupta and he is also known to be a patron of the Ājivikas.

Similarly great captains of industry and magnates of finance were trying to ingratiate themselves with these leaders with a view to placate their disgust for their exploitation. Thus Anātha Pindaka of Sāraṭhi was a devotee of the Buddha whereas Maukkhali Gosāla passed his life under the roof of Halāhala, the potter.

To recapitulate, we notice a fermentation of political thought and diplomatic practice, adumbrated by Vassakāra in Magadha, Digha Chārāyana in Kosala, Yaugandharāyaṇa at

1. Mañjūsrimūlakalpa, Jayaswal's edition, p. 5.

2. Mañjūsrimūlakalpa ibid, p. 31.

भविष्यति तदाकाले ब्राह्मणस्तार्किका भुवि ।

धर्मशालोऽपि धर्मात्मा तेषां दास्यति तद्धनम् ॥

Kauśāmbi and Ceṭaka and Suddhodhana in Veśālī and Kapilavastu and ultimately matured in Kauṭīliyan polity. Economic possibilities were contradicted by the character of political institutions and needed a strong unitary government. Religious and philosophical thought also drove towards the same objective. Growing contact with foreigners necessitated a central state organization. Political thinkers described the lands between the Himālayas and the Southern seas as naturally destined to be the territory of one state.<sup>1</sup> Last but not the least in importance were the Persian and Greek invasions, which exposed the weakness of isolated small states and stressed the need of a centralized imperial power. As Dr. Ray Choudhury writes: "Alexander's invasion helped the cause of Indian unity by destroying the power of the petty states of North-Western India just as the Danish invasion contributed to the union of England under Wessex by destroying the independence of Northumbria and Mercia."<sup>2</sup>

In his Presidential address, delivered to the Ancient History section of the Indian History Congress (Calcutta) Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri observed: "At its best the Indian imperial organization was a sort of sheath encasing the pre-existing political institutions of the original kingdoms, that had been drawn into the empire." (Proceedings P. 265). This statement does not at all apply to the Maurya empire for it was not a jumble of dependent state but a vast bureaucratic organization centering round the king. Kauṭīlya distinctly goes against the creation of feudal dependencies; of course, he has to recommend a conciliatory attitude towards a newly conquered state in respect of the reinstatement of its defeated king. But this is a sober policy. Even in the 20th century the British government tolerates in India the existence of a number of old-fashioned monarchies. In the king's lands direct government officials carried on the administration. From Aśoka's inscriptions we know that Taxila in the North, Ujjain in C. P., Suvarṇagiri in the South, Tosali in Kalinga and Pāṭaliputra in the east were the

1. Cf. Kauṭīlya : *Arthaśāstra* ed. Shamsastri, p. 340.

हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरमुदीर्चानं योजनसहस्रपरिभासाभित्यक् चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम्

2. Ray Choudhury : *Political History* etc., p. 213.

capitals of Imperial provinces ruled over by the king or the princes of the royal blood (Ariyaputta) appointed as viceroy. The location of these capitals shows that almost the whole of India was under the direct administration of the authority radiating from the Emperor at Pāṭaliputta. If there were some semi-independent peoples like the Andhras, Pitinikas, Rathikas, Bhojas etc. they were analogous to the native states in British India. But that does not mean that the Maurya empire "was a disjointed mass of self-contained states."

To conclude we may remark that the Maurya empire was not a creation of one brain or the conquest of one arm. It was a gradual evolution shaped by silent economic forces and backed by centuries of intellectual and religious endeavour. It was not even an imperial system, if the word is taken to imply some exploitation. It may rather be called a national state which remained latent but was soon given shape by the stimulus of circumstances.

The Maurya state did not exploit any interest or violate the right of any other state; it simply protected the interests and preserved the rights of a people culturally united together and geographically destined as one single group. It is significant that no *Aśvamedha* or *Rājasūya* was performed to inaugurate this empire, for it was not the attempt of any one man who could display the magnificence of his arms or prowess of his will, but, on the contrary was a national state shaped or realized by the growing national consciousness of the Indian people. Even today the Maurya empire remains in history as the greatest expression of the political ethos of the Hindu race—the greatest tribute to their state-building capacity and the most striking testimony of their governmental efficiency.

# THE STORY OF KING BHOJA AND GĀNGĀ TELI IN SANSKRIT AND ITS RELATION TO A PROVERB CURRENT IN THE MARATHI LANGUAGE

By P. K. Gode

In the Dictionary of Marathi Proverbs called the *Mahārāṣṭra Vāksampradāya* (by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve, Vol. I, Poona, 1942) page 249 I find the following explanation of a current Marathi proverb “कहां राजा भोज कहां गंगा तेली” which I have heard since my childhood :—

“ कहां भोजराजा, कहां गंगु ( गंगा ) तेली-

कोठें भोजराजा व कोठें गंगा तेली ( गंगराज तैलप ).

येथें मुंजराजालाच चुकीनें भोज संबोधून म्हण रचिली आहे. मुंजाचें राज्य तैलपानें घेतलें तेव्हांची त्याची तुलना केली आहे. भोजराजा उदार तर गंगराज तैलप त्या मानानें कांहींच नाही.

तु. “ गते मुंजे यशःपुंजे निरालंबा सरस्वती ”

The prowess and liberality of King Bhoja of Dhara (C. A. D. 1050) not to say his learning and patronage to learning, have become proverbial<sup>1</sup> throughout India.

1. See *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1911, pages 121-122—verses 74 to 98 pay admirable tribute to Bhoja's different qualities of head and heart but above all to his liberality and patronage to learning. I note here some of these verses :—

—“ भोज त्वत्कीर्तिकान्ताया नभोभालस्थितं महत् ।

कस्तूरीतिलकं राजगुणागारं विराजते ॥ ७८ ॥ ”

—“ अस्य श्रीभोजराजस्य द्वयमेव सुदुर्लभम् ।

शत्रूणां शृङ्खलैर्लोहं ताम्रं शासनपत्रकैः ॥ ७९ ॥ ”

—“ अद्य धारा सदाधारा सदालम्बा सरस्वती ।

पण्डिता मण्डिताः सर्वे भोजराजे भुवं गते ॥ ८३ ॥ ”

—“ विद्वद्बृन्दगुणानुरूपविभवत्यागैककल्पद्रुमे

स्वर्गवासिनि भोजराजनृपतौ विद्यानवद्यात्मनि ।

दातारो भुवि नैव भूमिवलये मा सन्तु किं तावता

ज्ञातारोऽपि न सन्ति हन्त नितरामेतावता दूयते ॥ ९३ ॥ ”

Some of these verses are found in the *Bhojaprobandha of Ballālasena*.

In the Marathi proverb quoted above the contrast is between King Bhoja and Gaṅgu (Gaṅgā) Telī. I am not aware on what authority the Editors of the *Mahārāṣṭra Vākṣampradāya* have given their explanation of the proverb. According to this explanation गंगा तेली of the proverb is identified with गंगराज तैलप and भोजराजा is equated with मुञ्जराजा. Though it is a historical fact that गंगराज तैलप (A.D. 973-997) killed king मुञ्ज<sup>1</sup> (Vākpatirāja II) of the Paramāra dynasty it is difficult to accept the above equations of गंगा तेली with गंगराज तैलप and भोज with मुञ्ज. The history of the origin and development of the present proverb must be proved on documentary evidence from sources later than C. A. D. 1050, the date of भोजराजा mentioned in the proverb. It appears that this proverb had its origin in some story of राजा भोज and the oilman of the name गंगा तेली. In the Govt. MSS Library at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, there is a MS of कल्पसूत्र with a commentary called कल्पद्रुमकलिका (No. 370 of 1880-81). At the end of this MS there are two extra folios containing a Sanskrit version of the story of राजा भोज and गंगा तेली, which appears to me to be the basis of the proverb “कहां राजा भोज, कहां गंगा तेली.” The text of the story as recorded on these folios reads as follows:—

“ ॥ गांगा तेलीवत् ॥ तथाहि कोपि विद्यार्थी प्रतिष्ठानपुरे दक्षिणदेशे गत्वा भट्टपार्श्वे सर्वे विद्याश्चिद्वर्षे पठित्वा जातगर्वो मस्तके अंकुसं धरन् विद्याया उदरं मा स्फुटतु इत्युदरे बद्धपटः यदि वादे नष्टवा आकासे याति तदा निश्रेण्या-मारुह्य अधः पातयामि इति निश्रेणी सेवकस्कंधे बहन् वादी पाताले प्रविशति तदा कुदालैः खनित्वा निःकासयामि इति कुदाला सार्धं धरन् यो ममाग्रे हारयति स तृणं मुखे गृह्णातु इति तृणपुलकं सेवककक्षां धारयन् वादेन दक्षिणगौर्जर्मरुद्धदेश

1. The verse about मुञ्ज quoted in महाराष्ट्र वाक्संप्रदाय has been recorded in the सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार (p. 123) as follows:—

“ लक्ष्मीयास्यति गोविन्दे वीरश्रीवीरमेष्ठति ।

गते मुञ्जे यशःपुञ्जे निरालम्बा सरस्वती ॥ ११२ ॥ ”

*Muñja's* overthrow and execution by the Cālukya ruler *Tailapa II* is mentioned by *Merutuṅga* (13th Century) and corroborated by epigraphic evidence (Vide p. 61 of *History of Paramāra Dynasty* by D. C. Ganguly, Dacca, 1933). *Tailapa II* died shortly before 998 A.D. and the execution of *Muñja* took place between A.D. 993 and 998. I have not verified the epithet गंगराज as applied to *Tailapa II* in the महाराष्ट्र वाक्संप्रदाय.

वासिनो निजित्य सरस्वतीकंठाभरणादीन् बिरुदान् वाहयन् भोजराजसभां  
 पंचसत् पंडितैः विराजमानं श्रुत्वा उज्जयिन्या समेतः भोजराजेन प्रवेशोत्स-  
 वादिना सन्मानदानपूर्व उत्तारितः समीचीनस्थले ततः सभायां आगतेन भोज-  
 राजसमक्षं वादकारणेन कालदासक्रीडाचंद्रभवभूतिप्रमुखा पंचशत पंडिताऽपि  
 जीताः भोजराजेन विमृष्टं अहो परिदेशीना भट्टाचार्येण मदीया भट्टा  
 जिताः मम पंडितसभामहात्मं गतं इति चितांतुर क्रीडार्थं वने गच्छन् एकाक्षि  
 बहुदूषणीमध्यात् हस्तेन तैलं निःकासयति कुंभमध्ये तैलं क्षिपंतं राजानं पश्यंतं  
 गांगानामानं तैलकं पश्यति स्म राज्ञा विचारितं अहो काणस्यऽस्य बुद्धिविज्ञानं  
 युक्तं च एतत् यतः पष्ठिवामनके दोषा असीति मधु पिंगले शतं चटुष्टुपेषु काणे  
 संख्या न विद्यते ? ततस्तं अकार्यं राज्ञा पृष्टंऽहो त्वं भट्टाचार्येण सह वादं करि-  
 ष्यसि तेन प्रोक्तं ॐ मम किं यास्यति का प्रतिष्ठास्ति अटमटान्यायेन जयोपि भवति  
 कदाचित् तत आदित्यवारे राज्ञा भट्टाचार्यमाकार्यं प्रोक्तं भो श्रीभट्टाचार्य  
 मम भट्टास्त्वया जितास्तत्सत्यं परं अस्माकं एतेषां भट्टानां पाठको भट्टाचार्योऽस्ति  
 तेन समं अद्य वादः क्रियतां दक्षिणभट्टाचार्येण प्रोक्तं भव्यं ततो भट्टाचार्यः  
 सिंहासने उपनिवेशितः अन्येपि कालदासक्रीडाचंद्रप्रमुखाः पंचशतभट्टाः  
 समेतास्तेषामपि आसनानि राज्ञा दत्तानि ततो गांगातेलीभट्टाचार्यः परिधा-  
 पितपंचागवेषः स्वर्णाभर्णादिना विभूषितः स्थूलवपुः मदोन्मत्त हस्तीव आनीतः  
 राजा उत्थितः सर्वा सभाप्युत्थिता बहूमानसन्मा( ना )दिना राज्ञा सिंहासने  
 निवेशितः ततो दक्षिणीयभट्टाचार्येण विमृष्टं अहं कृशवपुः अयं स्थूलवपुः कथं  
 प्रकारं वादेन जयंस्यामि ततः किं वा कलहेन तत्वं पृच्छामि ततो दक्षिणीयभट्टा-  
 चार्येण एकांगुलिर्दर्शिता भोजराजभट्टेन क्रोधं कृत्वांगुलिद्वयं दर्शितं ततो जात-  
 चकतकारे भट्टाचार्येण प्रलंबितपंचांगुलिको हस्त उद्धीकृत दर्शितः ततो  
 भोजराजभट्टेन दृढा मुष्टिर्दर्शिताः ततो दक्षिणीयभट्टो मस्तकात् अंकुसं उत्तार्य  
 उदरात् विद्यापट्टं छोटयित्वां निःश्रेणीं भक्ता कुदालान् द्वंद्वात् वियोज्य नृणालूठकं  
 प्रज्वालित्वा गर्वं मुक्ता सभासमक्षं भोजभट्टस्य पादयो लग्नः अहो अहं न  
 केनापि जितः परं एवं महापंडितस्त्वया जितो भोजराजेन पृष्टं को वाद कृतोऽ-  
 स्माकं श्राव्यतां भट्टाचार्यैः प्राह । अहं भोज मया एकांगुलिदर्शनेन ज्ञापितं एकः  
 सिवो जगत्कर्तास्ति भवदीयभट्टेन विशेषो ज्ञापितोऽंगुलिद्वयदर्शनेन यत् एकेन  
 शिवेन किं द्वितीया शक्तिरप्यस्ति पुनर्मया प्रलंबांगुलिहस्तदर्शनेन ज्ञापितं इंद्रियाणि  
 पंच संति त्वदीयभट्टाचार्येण मुष्टिदर्शनात् ज्ञापितं पंचेंद्रियाणि बद्धानि दमितानि  
 भव्यानि ततो भवदीयो भट्टाचार्यो महापंडितो महावैराग्यवान् च कियन्महात्मं  
 वर्ण्यते ते दशः पंडितः कुत्रापि ततो दक्षिणीयभट्टाचार्या मानभ्रष्टरुवरितं  
 स्वदेशाय चलितः ततो भोजराजराजेन गांगातेली पृष्टः को वादः कृतः



ततस्तेनोक्तं भो राजन् मम तेन भट्टेन एकांगुलिदर्शेन ज्ञापितं त्वं काणोसि मया अंगुलि-द्वयदर्शनेन ज्ञापितं अहं त्वां द्वयोः चक्षुषोः काणं काणं करिष्यामि ततो द० भट्टेन प्रलंबहस्तदर्शनेन ज्ञापितं अहं त्वां चपेट्या मारयिष्यामि तदा राजादिका सर्वापि सभा सहर्षं हसति स्म अहो अस्य दिना समीचीनाः सुसिद्धिकोऽयं राज्ञा बहुसन्मानादिना संतोषितः स्वस्थानं गतः सिद्धार्थो राजा वदति स्म यूयमपि सुसिद्धिकास्तेन भवदुक्तं मम सत्यं भवत्विति ॥

इति गांगातेलीकथा संपूर्ण ॥ श्री ॥ ”

The above story of गांगा तेली and राजा भोज may be briefly summed up as follows :—

A student went to प्रतिष्ठानपुर (modern Paithan) in the Southern country. He learnt all sciences under a preceptor for 30 years and became puffed up with pride. Then he set out on an expedition to outside provinces like Gujarat, Marwar etc. His equipment on this expedition was as follows :—

- (1) He carried on अंकुश (a hook or goad) on his head.
- (2) He had his belly tied up with a पट (or strip of cloth) to prevent the bursting out of his विद्या (knowledge or learning).
- (3) His servant carried on his shoulder a निश्रेणी (ladder). If the opponent of his master, being defeated in a debate, went up to the sky, the master was to climb up this ladder with a view to pulling down this opponent.
- (4) If the वादी (opponent) took shelter in the पाताल (nether world) he was to be dug out with कुदालs (spades or pick-axes). The master therefore, held in his hands some कुदालs or pick-axes significantly.
- (5) His servant carried under his arm a तृणपुलक (a bundle grass), with the object of making his defeated opponent hold the grass<sup>1</sup> in his month as a sign of defeat or surrender.

With this equipment this learned student conquered in debate the people of the provinces like Gujarat, Marwar etc. and obtained titles like सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण etc. Then having heard that the assembly of भोजराज had 50 eminent Paṇḍits in it, he went to उज्जयिनी. He was received there at a fit place by भोजराज respectfully and he received some presents from this king. His

1. I propose to write a paper on the custom of “holding grass in the mouth” ( दाती तृण धरणे ) as a sign of surrender.

entrance was also marked with festive celebrations arranged by the king. He then paid a visit to the royal assembly and in the presence of भोजराज himself he defeated in the course of a debate all the 50 Paṇḍitas of whom (1) काल(लि)दास, (2) क्रीडाचन्द्र and (3) भवभूति were the prominent ones. At this भोजराज thought within himself : Alas ! It is a pity that a भट्टाचार्य (a learned man) from an outside province should conquer my own learned men. Verily my assembly of *Paṇḍitas* has lost its pre-eminence ! In such a sorrowful mood he went to a forest for sport. On his way he saw a तैलक (oilman) of the name गांगा, who though one-eyed, was seen taking out oil from a big oil-press with his own hand and pouring it in a jar. King भाज wondered at the powers of the intellect of this one-eyed fellow as also his skill and then calling him, inquired if he would undertake a disputation with the भट्टाचार्य under reference. गांगातेली replied that he would easily defeat the भट्टाचार्य and be successful in the debate. Then on a Sunday the king called the भट्टाचार्य and said to him : Oh Bhaṭṭācārya it is true that you have conquered my Bhaṭṭas but there is the preceptor of these Bhaṭṭas called भट्टाचार्य with whom you are requested to carry out a debate today. दक्षिणभट्टाचार्य (from Paiṭhan) agreed to this request. Then this भट्टाचार्य was made to sit on a lion-throne and other fifty Paṇḍitas headed by कालदास and क्रीडाचन्द्र were also given seats near this भट्टाचार्य by the king. Then गांगातेलीभट्टाचार्य was brought to the assembly fully attired and decorated with gold ornaments. With his corpulent body he looked like an elephant in rut. On seeing him the king rose up, as also the entire assembly to honour him. The king then seated him on a lion-throne. Then the दक्षिणीयभट्टाचार्य thought to himself : I have a slender body while this fellow has a corpulent body. How can I conquer him in a debate ? However, it does not matter. I shall ascertain the real position by starting a dispute. Then the दक्षिणीयभट्टाचार्य showed his opponent *one finger*, whereupon भोजराजभट्ट became angry and showed him *two fingers*. Then दक्षिणीय भट्टाचार्य showed his opponent his *five fingered* hand. Then भोजराजभट्टाचार्य showed him his *tight fist*. Then दक्षिणीयभट्टाचार्य took down the भकुश (goat) from his own head. He also took off the विद्यापट्ट (strip of cloth indicative of his excessive learning) from his own

belly, broke up the ladder, laid down the pick-axes separately and set fire to the bundle of grass (carried by his servant). In this way he left off his pride and in the presence of the assembly fell at the feet of भोजभट्ट and said : Oh, this great Paṇḍita was never been conquered by any one, but it is only yourself, who have conquered him !

King भोज asked the दक्षिणीयभट्टाचार्य to explain the nature of the वाद or dispute which had just come to an end. He replied:— Oh, king भोज, by showing one finger I indicated that God *Śiva* is alone the creator of the universe. Your भट्टाचार्य by showing his *two* fingers indicated a distinction with difference that God *Śiva*, though single is associated with another शक्ति. Again I showed my hand with *five* fingers hanging down to indicate that the *sense-organs* (इन्द्रियाणि) are *five* only. Your भट्टाचार्य thereupon showed me his closed fist and thereby indicated that it is possible to restrain and tame these sense-organs. It appears from all these facts that your भट्टाचार्य is a great Paṇḍita possessing great powers of renunciation. It is not possible to find such a Paṇḍita elsewhere or to describe his greatness adequately.

Then this दक्षिणीयभट्टाचार्य, being excessively humiliated left for his native place, thereupon king भोज said to गंगातेली: What was the nature of the वाद or dispute you have finished ? गंगातेली explained as follows :—

Oh, king, that भट्ट (from Paithan) showed his *one finger* to indicate that I had *only one eye*. I retorted by showing him my *two fingers* to indicate that I shall blind both his eyes. Then the दक्षिणीयभट्ट by showing his broad palm of hand with fingers hanging down indicated that he would beat me with a slap of his hand. Then (on hearing this explanation) the whole assembly including king भोज laughed delightfully. गंगातेली thus attained good days and being thus highly successful (in his mission) was gratified by the king with great honour. He then returned home. The king on his part having his object fulfilled remarked (to the assembly): All of you have become successful, therefore your words will prove true for me.—Thus ends the story of गंगातेली.

The foregoing story is witty enough and partakes of the elements of similar stories about king Bhoja of Dhārā recorded

in the *Bhojaprabandha* of *Ballālasena* which Dr. A. B Keith<sup>1</sup> assigns to the 16th century. The recipients<sup>2</sup> of Bhoja's patronage mentioned in the *Bhojaprabandha* are numerous<sup>3</sup> and

1. Vide *Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 293—"that Collection of witty but quite untrustworthy legends of the Court of Bhoja, the *Bhoja-prabandha* of Ballālasena is of the Sixteenth Century (Ed. N. S. P. 1913, L. Oster, Die Rezensionen des Bh. (1911))."

2. See *Bhojaprabandha*, ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1883—some names mentioned in this work are :—

धारानगरवासी विप्र (p. 13); कलिङ्गदेशकवि (p. 16); पुलिन्दपुत्र (p. 16); गोविन्दपण्डित (p. 17); कुम्भकार (p. 18); 50 Paṇḍitas adorned the Court of Bhoja including "वररुचिवाणमयूररफणहरिशङ्करकच्छिन्न-कर्पूरविनायकमदनविद्याविनोदशेकिलतारेंद्र—मुख्याः (p. 18); शङ्करकवि (pp. 18, 19); कालिदास (called वैश्यालम्पट p. 20); लक्ष्मीधर कवि from द्राविडदेश (p. 23); कुविन्द (weaver) p. 24; बाण (pp. 25, 26); क्रीडाचन्द्र (p. 29); मयूर (p. 29); रामेश्वर कवि (p. 30); सीता (p. 31); लालावती (queen of भोज) p. 32; विलासवती (वैश्या) p. 35; महेश्वर कवि (p. 43); चोलपण्डित (p. 44); तण्डुलदेव (from काशदेश) p. 45; सोमन्त कवि (p. 47); कुम्भकारवधू (p. 48); मयूर कवि (p. 49); शुकदेव कवि (pp. 52-53); वासुदेव कवि (p. 53); विष्णुकवीश्वर (p. 55); सोमनाथ कवि (p. 56); मुत्तुकुन्द कवि (from काश्मीरदेश) p. 58; गोपाल कवि (p. 59); भास्कर विप्र (from प्रभासतीर्थ) p. 60; शाकल्य (from एकशिला नगरी) p. 60; वृद्ध ब्राह्मणा विदुषां (जाह्नवीतीरवासिनी) p. 61; दामोदर कवि (p. 61); सूत्रधार स्त्री (p. 62); मल्लिनाथ कवि (p. 62); महेश्वर कवि (p. 63); सीताल ब्राह्मण (p. 65); मयूर कवि (p. 66); शाम्भवदेव कवि (p. 67); भवभूति कवि (from वाराणसी देश) (p. 69); बाणपण्डितपुत्र (p. 69); बाण कवि (p. 73); सीता (p. 74); मालाकार-पत्नी (p. 74); हरिशर्मा कवि (p. 76); देवजय कवि (p. 76); तपोनिधि (p. 76); ब्रह्मचारी (from श्रीशैल) p. 77; कालिदास (called अनवरतवैश्यालम्पट) p. 78; अल्लालनृप (p. 79); माधव पण्डित (from गुर्जरदेश) p. 80; वररुचि (p. 87); शिवशर्मा कवि (p. 87); मल्लिनाथ कवि (from दक्षिणदेश) p. 92; कविशेखर (p. 92); भुक्कुण्ड (Robber); "कालिदास-भवभूति-दर्पिण-बाण-मयूर-वररुचि-प्रभृति (at Bhoja's Court) (p. 99); मल्लिनाथ कवि (p. 100); कालिदास goes to एकशिलानगर with विलासवती (वैश्या) p. 101.—

3. I may note here the following particulars which are common to the भोजप्रबन्ध and गांगालीकथा :—

- (1) भोज सभा consisting of 50 Paṇḍitas.
- (2) कालिदास, क्रीडाचन्द्र and भवभूति mentioned as preeminent poets of the भोजसभा.
- (3) Bhoja's love of learning and patronage to learned men in his own kingdom as also from other provinces of India.

varied but गांगातेली is not one of them, though there is one कुम्भकार among them. The present गांगा तेली कथा appears to be earlier than about 1650 A. D. as the paper on which it is written appears to be more than 250 years old. I cannot, however, say if it is earlier than the *Bhojaprabandha* of the 16th century or later than it. It is, however, clear that the Marathi proverb “कहां राजा भोज, कहां गंगा तेली” had its origin in this folk-tale, which has been current in the country<sup>1</sup> for the last 350 years; if not more. I now request other scholars to investigate the exact chronology of this story and prove it on documentary evidence.

1. We must investigate the antiquity of the proverb “कहां राजा भोज, कहां गंगा तेली” in North Indian sources and especially in Hindi literature. Perhaps the Jaina literature may also contain stories similar to Gāṅgā Teli story.

# JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

## 9. Juridical Aspects of the Gāndharva Form of Marriage\*

By Dr. Ludwik Sternbach

1. According to P. V. Kane (History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Part I p. 519, "in the *Gāndharva* form the principal object was the gratification of carnal desires". J. Jolly (*Recht und Sitte* p. 51) says that *Gāndharva-vivāha* is "*die Liebesheirat ohne elterlichen Consens*" (the love-marriage without the consent of the parents). Dr. A. S. Altekar (The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation p. 50) says that "it was a love marriage pure and simple". Gooroodas Banerjee (The Hindu Law of Marriage and Strīdhana, being the Tagore Law-lectures for 1878, p. 85) says that "Marriages in this form, which depend merely upon the agreement of the contracting parties, resemble, to some extent, what are known as Gretna-Green marriages—that is runaway marriages by persons governed by the English law at Gretna-Green and elsewhere in Scotland to evade the provisions of that law against ill-advised and clandestine marriages". John D. Mayne (A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage, Madras 1900, par. 79) says that the *Gāndharva-vivāha* was contracted for the purpose of amorous embraces and proceeding from sexual inclination".

2. From the *Smṛtis*<sup>1</sup> it is evident that the Gāndharva form of marriage is a voluntary (spontaneous) (Mn. III-32,

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इच्छयान्योन्यसंयोगः कन्यायाश्च वरस्य च ।

गान्धर्वः स तु विज्ञेयो मैथुन्यः कामसंभवः ॥ Mn. (*Manu*) III-32 ;

गान्धर्वः समयान्मिथः ।

Y. (*Yājñavalkya*) I-61 ; identically Śākh. (*Śāṅkhāyana* IV-5) ;

इच्छन्तीमिच्छतः प्राहुर्गान्धर्वं नाम पञ्चमम् । N. (*Nārada*) XII-42 ;

द्वयोः सकामयोर्मर्मातिपितृरहितो योगो गान्धर्वः । Vi. (*Viṣṇu*) XXIV-23 ;

सकामां कामयमानः सदृशौ योनिमुह्यात्स गान्धर्वः ।

Vās (*Vāsiṣṭha*) I-33 ;

इच्छन्त्या स्वयं संयोगो गान्धर्वः । G. (*Gautama*) IV-10 ;

K. III-151/14, Kām. p. 207/213, G. IV-10, MBh. I-73/27) u n i o n ( संयोग ) (Mn. III-32, Āp. II-5, 11, 20, G. IV-10, B. I-11, 20, 7, Śāṅkh. IV-5, Vi. XXIV-23, N. XII-42, K. 151/14, Kām. p.207/213, MBh. I-73-27, Dev. in Vir. p. 855) of a l o v i n g (willing) (G. IV-10, Vās. I-33, B. I-11, 20, 7, N.XII-42) m a i d e n (bride, girl, damsel, woman) (Mn. III-32, Āp. II-5, 11, 20, Vās. I-33, B. I-11, 20, 6, Śāṅkh. IV-5, Āśv. I-6, 5, N. XII-42, K. 151/14, Dev. in Vir. p. 855, Hār. in Vir. p. 856) and her l o v e r (bridegroom) (Mn. III-32, Āp. II-5, 11, 20, G. IV-10, Vās. I-33, B.I-11, 20, 7, Śāṅkh. IV-5, Āśv. I-6, 5, N. XII-42, K. 151/4, Dev. in Vir. p. 855, Hār. Vir. p. 856), or as Vi. (XXIV-23) expresses it, a union between two lovers constitutes this form of marriage. Āśv. (I-6, 5) adds that this form of marriage takes place after a mutual agreement has been made. Similarly Dev. (Vir. p. 855), and Mit. (ad Y. I-61). 'This mutual consent or reciprocal attachment is the *essentiale negotii* of this form of marriage, according to Y. (I-61). For a better understanding of this form of marriage, some *Smṛtis* add that this form of marriage takes place through love (Āp. II-5, 11, 20, Śāṅkh. IV-5, Dev. in Vir. Saṁs. p. 855), or that it springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose (Mn. III-32).

This is also evident from MBh. I-73, 14, where we read :  
 "O beautiful lady, I am full of desire, so are you. You should, therefore, become my wife according to the Gāndharva-form."

मिथः कामात्सांवर्तते स गान्धर्वः । Āp. (Āpastamba) II-5, 11, 20 ;

विविक्ते स्वयमन्योन्यं स्त्रीपुंसोर्द्वयस्यमागमः ।

प्रातिहेतुः स गान्धर्वो विवाहः पञ्चमो मतः ।

Dev. (Devala) in Vir. (Vīramitrodaya) Saṁs. (Saṁskāra) p. 855/6.

स्वयं कन्यां वरयते स गान्धर्वः । Hār. (Hārīta) in Vir. Saṁs. p. 856.

सकामेन सकामाया मिथः संयोगो गान्धर्वः ।

B. (Baudhāyana) I-11, 20, 7.

मिथस्समवायात् गान्धर्वः । K. (Kauṭilya) 151/14.

मिथः समयं कृत्वोपयच्छेत स गान्धर्वः । Āśv. (Āśvalāyana) I-6, 5.

1. According to M. N. Dutt's translation.

सा त्वं मम सकामस्य सकामा वरवर्णिनी ।

गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन भार्या मे भवितुमर्हसि ॥

Mbh. (Mahābhārata) I-73, 14.

Vir. (*ad Y-I*, 61) says that according to this form of marriage, the bride and the bridegroom mutually bind themselves by saying "you are my husband" and "you are my wife" and the marriage takes place independently of a gift to be made by the father.

According to Vās. the lover has to take a girl of equal caste (Vās. I-33); according to Vi. (XXIV-23) without the consent of the mother and father, and according to Dev. in Vir. (Sams. p. 855) to a sacred place.

3. Nār. and Gov. (*ad Mn. III-32*) enter into a discussion of the question as to whether the prescribed offerings and wedding ceremonies are to be performed in the case of the *Gāndharva vivāha*, *Rākṣasa-vivāha* and *Paiśāca-vivāha*. Relying on a passage of Devala and of the Bahvṛka Pāriśiṣṭa they are of the opinion that the *homas* must be performed,<sup>1</sup> but they hold with Manu's dictum (VIII-226) which restricts the use of the *mantras* to women married as virgins, saying that the Vedic nuptial texts must not be recited. From the comment by Medh. on verse 34 it would appear that opinions on the subject were divided, and that some held weddings with the recitation of the *mantras* to be permissible, while others denied the necessity of any wedding.

MBh. (I-73, 27) says "The marriage according to the Gāndharva form, without *mantras* and between a willing woman and a willing man is said to be the best for Kṣatriyas.<sup>2</sup> Consequently MBh. says here that the recitation of the *mantras* is not essential. On the other hand MBh. (I-94, 38) says :

1. ब्राह्मेष्वापेषु देवेषु प्राजापत्येषु याज्ञिकैः ।  
पूर्वं होमविधिः प्रोक्तः पश्चात्पारिणयः स्मृतः ॥  
गान्धर्वासुरपैशाचविवाहा राक्षसश्च यः ।  
पूर्वं पारिणयस्तेषां पश्चाद्धोमो विधीयते ॥

Vir. *ad Y.* p. 125 and Smṛtipāriśiṣṭa quoted in Smṛ. C. p. 230.

2. M. N. Dutt's translation.

क्षत्रियस्य हि गान्धर्वा विवाहः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ।

सकामायाः सकामेन निर्मन्त्रो रहसि स्मृतः ॥ MBh. (I-73, 27).



शासनाद्विप्रमुख्यस्य कृतकौतुकमंगलः ।

जग्राह विधिवत्पाणिमुवास च तथा सह ॥

Hence, it is evident that Śakuntalā called a priest in order to perform the religious rites before the consummation of her marriage. It must be pointed out, however, that this passage is probably of a more recent date and that it is an interpolation, the more so as it contradicts other passages of the same epic and of the definition found in MBh.—In MBh. (IV-94, 60) we read :

क्षत्रियस्य तु गान्धर्वो विवाहः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ।

सकामायाः सकामेन निर्मन्त्रः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ॥

Dev. quoted by Kull. on Mn. (VIII-226), in Vir. ( *ad* Y. I-61 ) and in Smṛ. C. (p. 230) says, however, that the ritual must be performed after the union has taken place. We read there :

गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु विधिवैवाहिकोऽमतः ।

कत्तव्यश्च त्रिभिर्वर्णैः समयेनाग्निसाक्षिकः ॥

On the other hand Vir. ( *ad* Y. p. 124 ) expresses his own opinion based on Mn. that no marriage ceremony is essential. It was sufficient to say the formulas “you are my husband” and “you are my wife” to be married according to the *Gāndharva* form.<sup>1</sup>

Bāl. ( *ad* Y. I-61 ) says that in the case of the *Gāndharva* and other rites of marriage, in order to constitute the legal status of husband and wife, there the ceremonies of *homa* and all the rest up to “*saptapadi*” must be performed.

In this connection the definition of this form of marriage, which is to be found in Kām. ( 228/18-21 and 229/1-4 ), must be quoted :

प्रतिपक्षामभिप्रेतावकाशवर्तिनीं नायकः श्रोत्रियागारादग्निमानान्य कुशाना-  
स्तीर्य यथास्मृति हुत्वा च त्रिः परिक्रमेत् । ततो मातरि पितरि च प्रकाशयेत् ।  
अग्निसाक्षिका हि विवाहा न निवर्तन्त इत्याचार्यसमयः ॥

दूषयित्वा चैनां शनैः स्वजने प्रकाशयेत् । तद्गान्धवाश्च यथा कुलस्याघं परि-  
हरन्तो दण्डभयाच्च तस्मा एवनां दशुस्तथा योजयेत् । अनन्तरं च प्रीत्युपग्रहेण  
राजेण तद्गान्धवान्प्रीणयेदिति । गान्धवण विवाहेन वा चेष्टेत् ॥

1. गान्धर्व इति । त्वं मे पतिस्त्वं मे भार्येत्येवं कन्यावरयोः परस्परं नियमबन्धात्  
पित्रादिकर्तृकदाननिरपेक्षाद्यो विवाहः स गान्धर्व इत्यर्थः

Hence, it can be seen that according to Kām. the *Gāndharva* marriage is only a concubinage till the formal wedding ceremony, which takes place without the consent of the girl's parents (See Vi. XXIV-28). For instance in *Pañcatantra* (*Textus Ornator, Eine Altindische Maerchensammlung uebersetzt von Richard Schmidt, Leipzig, Lotus Verlag, Buch I, Erz. 8*) we read that sexual intercourse with a married woman (adultery) is "a marriage concluded according to the *Gāndharva*-rite". Similarly Pañc. (*ibid.* II-3) says: ".....In Ancient Indian Literature we find many such examples (*Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā*, the story of *Śakuntalā* and *Duṣyanta* etc.). This can also be seen from Vir. (*ad Y. I-61*), as quoted above.

4. However quite a different point of view is found in MBh. (XIII-44, 6) where we read: "When the father of the girl, without consulting his own wishes, confers his daughter upon a person whom the daughter likes and who reciprocates the girl's sentiments, the form of marriage, O *Yudhiṣṭhira*, is called *Gāndharva* by those versed in the Vedas." We see that according to MBh. it was a real form of marriage; it was one of the highest forms of marriage, where the father (guardian) had no more influence in the choice of a husband for the girl.

In Mn. (III-26) we find the following sentence:

पृथक्पृथग्वा मिश्रौ वा विवाहो पूर्वचोदितौ ।

गान्धर्वौ राक्षसश्चैव धर्म्यौ क्षत्रस्य तौ स्मृतौ ॥

i. e. "The *Gāndharva-vivāha* and the *Rākṣasa-vivāha*, the two *vivāhas* mentioned above have been declared to be lawful for the *Kṣatriyas* regardless of whether they are separated or combined (identically MBh. *Ādi Parva* 73, 12, 13).

We can see from this sentence that two subdivisions of this form of marriage exist i.e. the *Gāndharva-vivāha* combined with the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* and not combined with this form of marriage i. e. a "separate *Gāndharva-vivāha*".

5. A fine explanation of the *Gāndharva-vivāha* combined with the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* can be found in Medh.'s commentary on Mn. III-26, where we read "A girl living in her father's house,

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1. According to M. N. Dutt's translation.

happens to see a boy living in the same house and having heard praise of him from messengers, falls in love with him, but not being mistress of herself she cannot meet him,—and then she enters into a contact with her lover, requests him to take her away; and the bridegroom, being possessed of great strength, carries her away after having killed and wounded (her guardians); now in this case since there is a voluntary union between the two it fulfils the conditions of the *Gāndharva* form; while, since he has carried her away, after having killed and wounded the conditions of the *Rākṣasa* form are also fulfilled. Such a *Gāndharva-vivāha* combined with the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* (a blame-worthy *Gāndharva-vivāha*) is nothing but a specific form of the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* and has to be interpreted according to the rules prescribed for the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* although sometimes not all the *essentiale negotii* of this form of marriage can be clearly seen (See: Bhāgavata-Purāṇa; the story of the marriage of Rukmiṇī). Sometimes this kind of *Gāndharva-vivāha* takes place after a mutual agreement of a boy and a girl against the wishes of, or without the consent of the father.

6. On the other hand we find quite a different form of marriage called also *Gāndharva-vivāha* (separated from the *Rākṣasa-vivāha*—a separate *Gāndharva-vivāha*). It is this form of marriage which we find in MBh. XIII-44, 6 and which has to be considered as one of the highest forms, where the father (guardian) had no more influence in the choice of the bridegroom for the girl.

This kind of *Gāndharva-vivāha* was contracted for the happiness of the girl, and was a real marriage in which the consent of the father was not an *essentiale negotii*, but the father (guardian) of the girl was obliged—irrespective of whether the suitor was convenient to him or not—to bestow the daughter. He had to act only for the happiness of his daughter and not to take into consideration his own advantage.

7. Dividing the *Gāndharva-vivāha* into these two kinds of marriage, a division based on the texts of the *Smṛiti* (Mn. III-26, MBh. *Ādi Parva* 73, 12, 13), we can understand the contradictory conceptions of the *Gāndharva-vivāha* and the contradictory rules concerning this form of marriage as, for

instance, the rules concerning the admissibility of the *Gāndharva-vivāha* to members of different castes, etc.

8. It is also very probable that we can trace in the *Dharmaśāstras* and the epics the development of this form of marriage. In ancient times it was, possibly, a concubinage combined with the *Rākṣasa-vivāha*, performed without any ceremony; then it became a concubinage with the mutual consent of the girl and the boy, also without the performance of any nuptial ceremonies, and without the consent of the father. At last it became a form of marriage performed with the consent of the father, who conferred his daughter on the person she liked and who reciprocated her sentiment. Then it could be, as Vīr. (*ad* Y. I-61) says, something like *svayamvara*.

This development seems to be evident from the fact that the first and second stage are found in MBh. *Ādi Parva* and the third stage in *Anuśāsana Parva* which is much younger than *Ādi Parva*.

On the other hand Dr. A. S. Altekar's<sup>1</sup> point of view should be mentioned. He expresses the opinion that in the course of time, as the hold of religion increased, *Gāndharva* ceased to be one of the ideal forms of marriage and was included in the list of unapproved forms. It seems that this distinction depends on the fact whether the *Gāndharva-vivāha* was or was not combined with the *Rākṣasa-vivāha*.

9. The *Gāndharva-vivāha* does not belong to the orthodox forms of marriage. Accordingly the usual consequences of this fact apply to the *Gāndharva-vivāha* with the exception of the rules contained in the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* (IX-196, 197) according to which, if a woman marries according to the *Gāndharva-vivāha* (probably not combined with the *Rākṣasa-vivāha*) and dies without issue, her property *i. e.* the *strīdhana* belongs to her husband and not to her father. Also according to *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* (152/9) if the *strīdhana* was used by the husband it should be "restored together with interest on it".<sup>2</sup>

1. The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization—p. 51.

2. ब्राह्मदैवार्पणान्धर्वप्राजापत्येषु यद्वसु ।

अप्रजयासतीतायां भर्तुरेव तंदिष्यते ॥ Mn. (IX-196).

गान्धर्वासुरोपयुक्तं सवृद्धिकमुभयं दाप्येत । Kauṭ. (152/9).

Regarding the "blameworthy *Gāndharva-vivāha*" it must be pointed out that this form of marriage should be avoided according to Mn. ( III-41 ) and Yama ( in Vīr. Sm̐s. p. 865 ) because it is a "blameworthy marriage".<sup>1</sup>

10. This kind of *Gāndharva-vivāha* is fit for the *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Sūdras* ( Mn. III-23 ) and according to other sources of law permitted to the *Kṣatriyas* ( Mn. III-25/26, MBh. Ādi Parva 73-8-9, 13, Vi. XXIV-27, B. I-11, 20, 12, Pañcasayāka 10, 2526 Paṭhināsi quoted in Vīr. Sm̐s. ad Y. I-61 p. 126, Sāṅkh. IV-3 ).

On the contrary the second kind of the *Gāndharva-vivāha* i. e. the *Gāndharva-vivāha* separated from the *Rākṣasa-vivāha* is said to be the best<sup>2</sup> and is considered<sup>3</sup> righteous ( धर्म्य ) and lawful for the members of the Brahma caste ( Mn. III-23, 25, N. XII-44, G. IV-15 ).<sup>4</sup> However on account of the general character of this form of marriage, based on love which does not know any caste differences, some recommend the *Gāndharva-vivāha* for all castes ( B. I-11, 20, 16, N. XII-44 ).<sup>5</sup>

According to the sources of law we can say that the "blameworthy *Gāndharva-vivāha*" was the rule and that is the reason why the *Gāndharva-vivāha* takes a low place in the list of forms of marriage. It takes first place after the orthodox forms of

1. इतरेषु तु शिष्टेषु नृशंसानृतवादिनः ।

जायन्ते दुर्विवाहेषु ब्रह्मधर्मद्विषः सुताः ॥

Mn. III-41 and Yama in Vīr. Sm̐s. p. 865.

2. गान्धर्वेण च मां भीरु विवाहेनैहि सुन्दरि ।

विवाहानां हि रम्भोरु गान्धर्वः श्रेष्ठ उच्यते ॥ MBh. ( I-84, 4 ).

3. पञ्चानां तु त्रयो धर्म्या द्वावधर्म्यौ युधिष्ठिर । पैशाचश्चासुरश्चैव न कर्तव्यौ कथञ्चन ॥ ब्राह्मः क्षात्रोऽथ गान्धर्व एते धर्म्या नरर्षभ ॥

MBh. ( XIII-40-10/ii ).

4. The law-sources say " some say that... " ( Mn. III-23, G. IV-15 ). Another proof that there are two kinds of *Gāndharva-vivāha*.

5. It is another example of the high position of this form of marriage, although from the ancient Indian point of view it was rather a humiliation of this form of marriage.

marriage *i. e.* fourth<sup>1</sup> place in the general list of the forms of marriage, according to Āp. (II-5, 12) (after the *Brāhma*, *Ārṣa* and *Daiva*) and Vās (I-29) (after the *Brāhma*, *Daiva* and *Ārṣa*) and fifth place according to G. (IV), B. (I-11, 20), N. (XII-38, 39), K. (III-2) (after the *Brāhma*, *Prājāpatya*, *Ārṣa* and *Daiva*) and Āśv. Gṛh. (I-6) (after the *Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Prājāpatya* and *Ārṣa*). According to other sources it takes the second place, after the orthodox forms of marriage *i. e.* the sixth place in the general list of the forms of marriage according to Mn. (III-21), Y. (I-59-61), Śaṅkh. (IV-2), Vi. (XXIV-7-8) (after the *Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Ārṣa*, *Prājāpatya* and *Āsura*).<sup>2</sup>

1. Āp. and Vās. do not know one of the orthodox forms of marriage (Prājāpatya).

2. ब्राह्मो दैवस्तथैवार्षः प्राजापत्यस्तथासुरः।

गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव पैशाचश्चाष्टमोऽधमः ॥ Mn. (III-21);

षडानुपूर्व्या विप्रस्य क्षत्रस्य चतुरोऽवरान्।

विदुश्छूद्रयोस्तु तानेव विद्याद्धर्म्यनराक्षसान् ॥ Mn. (III-23);

पश्चानां तु त्रयो धर्म्या द्वावधर्म्यौ स्मृताविद्।

पैशाचश्चासुरश्चैव न कर्तव्यौ कदाचन ॥ Mn. (III-25);

पृथक्पृथग्वा मिश्रौ वा विवाहौ पूर्वचोदितौ।

गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव धर्म्यो क्षत्रस्य तौ स्मृतौ ॥ Mn. (III-26);

अनिन्दितैः स्त्रीविवाहैरनिन्द्या भवति प्रजा।

निन्दितैर्निन्दिता नृणां तस्मान्निन्द्यान्विवर्जयेत् ॥ Mn. (III-42);

अष्टौ विवाहा वर्णानां संस्कारार्थं प्रकीर्तिताः।

ब्राह्मस्तु प्रथमस्तेषां प्राजापत्यस्तथापरः ॥ N. (XII-38);

आर्षश्चैव हि दैवश्च गान्धर्वश्चासुरस्तथा। N. (XII-39);

साधारणः स्याद्गान्धर्व... N. (XII-44);

एते धर्म्यास्तु चत्वारः पूर्वं विप्रे प्रकीर्तिताः।

गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव क्षत्रियस्य प्रशस्यते ॥ Śaṅkh. (IV-3);

अष्टावेव समासेन विवाहा धर्मतस्मृताः ॥ MBh. (I-84, 14);

ब्राह्मो दैवस्तथैवार्षः प्राजापत्यस्तथाऽऽसुरः।

गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव पैशाचश्चाष्टमस्मृतः ॥ MBh. (I-84, 15);

गान्धर्वराक्षसौ क्षत्रे धर्म्यौ तौ मा विशङ्क्याः ॥ MBh. (I-84, 17);

चत्वारो धर्म्याः प्रथमाः। षडित्येके... G. (IV-14, 15);

This form of marriage is known to all important ancient Indian sources of law.

अत्रापि षष्ठसप्तमौ क्षत्रधर्मानुगतौ तत्प्रत्ययत्वात्क्षत्रस्य ॥ B. (I-11, 20, 12) ;  
गान्धर्वमप्येके प्रशंसन्ति सर्वेषां स्नेहानुगतत्वात् ॥ B. (I-11, 20, 16) ;  
एतेष्वाद्याश्चत्वारो धर्म्याः । गान्धर्वोऽपि राजन्यानाम् ॥

Vi. (XXIV-27/28);

गान्धर्वेण गन्धर्वलोकं गच्छति । Vi. (XXIV-37) ;

चत्वारो ब्राह्मणस्याद्याश्शस्ता गान्धर्वराक्षसौ ।

राज्ञस्तथाऽऽमुरो वैश्ये शूद्रे चान्त्यस्तु गर्हितः ॥ Smṛ. C. p. 231 ;

गान्धर्वासुरौ राजन्यस्य राक्षसो वैश्यस्य पैशाचः शूद्रस्य

Paiṭhinasi (Quoted in Vir. ad Y. p. 126) ;

षड्विवाहाः ॥ ब्राह्मो दैव आर्षो गान्धर्वः क्षात्रो मानुषश्चेति ॥

Vās. (I-28, 29) ;

पितृप्रमाणाश्चत्वारः पूर्वे धर्म्याः । मातापितृप्रमाणाश्शेषाः ।

तौ हि शुल्कहरौ दुहितुः । अन्यतराभावेऽन्यतरो वा । अद्वितीयं शुल्कं स्त्री  
हरेत सर्वेषां प्राथ्यारोपणमप्रतिषिद्धम् Kauṣ. (151/18-152/3).

# BHĀROTTHĀPANA-YANTRA-NIRMĀNA-VIDHI OF DEVĪSIMHA

( A WORK ON ENGINEERING )

By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma

Sanskrit has a vast literature on sciences like astronomy, medicine, law, philosophy etc. But there are very few works on engineering. We rarely come across any on this subject. Hence a work dealing with this should be of great interest to all students of ancient Indian history. It is the Bhārotthāpanayantranirmāṇavidhi of Devīsimha who, I think, must be the ruler of Bundelkhand (seventeenth century), disciple of Śivānandagosvāmin about whom I have written elsewhere. Devīsimha also wrote a voluminous work named Simhasudhānidhi on Āyurveda. A MS of this is available in the Anup Sanskrit Library.

A MS of the Bhārotthāpanayantranirmāṇavidhi is also available in the Anup Sanskrit Library. The work is a translation from one written in Yavana ( Persian ) language.

The MS has seven folios, each containing nearly twenty Granthas. Various kinds of machines for lifting weights are described in the work. Some diagrams are also given.

Begins :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

प्रणम्य परमेशानं देवी संहमहीपतिः ।

विधत्ते भारवद्वस्तुचालने सुकरां कृतिम् ॥ १ ॥

कृपादौ पतितस्योर्ध्वमार्कादौ सुधी नरः ।

अभेद्यभेदने चाथोऽनुत्तोलस्य च तोलने ॥ २ ॥

स्तोत्रेन च बलेनापि शक्रुयात्साधितुं यथा ।

रच्यतेऽत्र तथा युक्तिर्यवनैः परिभाषिता ॥ ३ ॥

तद्भाषातः समुद्धृत्य संस्कृतेन विधाय च ।

क्रियते सिंहभूषेन युक्तिरेषा जगद्धिता ॥ ४ ॥

षड्विधं साधनं तत्र तेषां योगचतुष्टयम् ।

गुरुतः शास्त्रतो बुद्ध्वा ततः सम्यङ्नियोजयेत् ॥ ५ ॥



महूवरो महलश्च बुगरा भूलबस्तथा ।  
 अस्फीनश्च शिकजा च क्रिया चैषां पृथक् पृथक् ॥ ६ ॥  
 मिलितानामपि तथा यथायोगं विविच्यते ।  
 महूवरो वृत्तचक्रं प्रान्ते कीलैः सुसंयुतम् ॥ ७ ॥  
 महल्लो दीर्घकाष्ठादि बुगरा भ्रमिचक्रकम् ।  
 भूलबो वर्तुलं काष्ठं कृताङ्कं तु परिभ्रमत् ॥ ८ ॥  
 बलीवेष्टनतो वृक्षे यथाक्लास्तादृगाकृति ॥

अथ केन प्रकारेण क्रियान्भार उत्तिष्ठति तदाह—

महूवरस्य परिधेर्यावतांशेन तद्विले ।  
 दण्डः प्रविष्टस्तत्संख्यं भारमेकांशयत्नतः ।  
 समुद्धरेन्नरो धीमान्विज्ञाय गुरुवक्त्रतः ॥  
 बुगराणां प्रकारेण भारं पष्ट्यधिकं शतम् ।  
 एकांशस्य प्रयत्नेन तोलयेत्तु विचक्षणः ॥  
 भूलबस्य भारं दशमणात्मकम् ।  
 मणस्य यत्नतो धीमानुद्धरेत् सुधी नरः ॥

Ends :

महल्लैकशिरस्तेन नीचं यायाद्यथा तथा ।  
 तथातथा परशिवो वस्तु चोस्थापयत्यलम् ।  
 अथास्फीनमाह—  
 अस्फीना च त्रिकोणा स्यात्पक्वलोहविनिर्मिता ।  
 कोणाश्च द्विमुखाः कार्या संप्रदायानुसारतः ॥  
 तत्रैककोणं भेद्यादौ निवेश्यापरकोणयोः ।  
 घातयेन्मुद्राराद्येन विहीर्णं जायते हि तत् ॥

# LAKṢMAṆA, THE AUTHOR OF THE GŪDHĀRTHAKĀŚIKĀ ON THE NAIṢADHĪYACARITA

By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma

Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa's Gūdhārthakāśikā or Naiṣadhaprakāśa is one of the rare commentaries on the Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrī-harṣa. A complete copy of this has yet to be discovered. The first Canto is available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (noticed in the Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in the Govt. MSS Library, Vol. XIII, Part I, No. 382). There is a MS in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir (Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS of Jammu by M. A. Stein, p. 69). This contains Cantos 8-15. Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum, Part II, 67, notices the MSS noticed by Peterson and Stein. Krishnamachariar in his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature (p. 183) notices these MSS and adds that Lakṣmaṇa also wrote Padyaracanā. In the Index to the book (p. 1059) Krishnamachariar mentions both Padyaracanā and Naiṣadha-vyākhyā under Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa and says that the latter was probably composed in the first half of the 16th century. This is incorrect. It is surprising that though Aufrecht mentions him as the brother of Dinakara and the son of Rāmakṣṣa, Krishnamachariar assigns him to the first half of the 16th century. In fact no scholar seems to have so far taken the trouble of identifying this Lakṣmaṇa and fixing his date.

There are MSS of the commentary in the Anup Sanskrit Library for Cantos 1-12 (nos. 2875-2886). At the end of the 11th Canto there is this colophon :

इति श्रीमद्विद्वद्वृन्दवन्दितपादपद्मद्वन्द्वश्रीमद्रामेश्वभट्टसूरिसूनुश्रीमन्नारा-  
यणभट्टसुतविद्वत्कदम्बनुतश्रीमद्रामकृष्णभट्टतनुजस्य लक्ष्मणस्य कृतौ नैषधगूढार्थ-  
प्रकाशे पूर्वार्धं समाप्तम् ॥

From this it is clear that this Lakṣmaṇa was a scion of the Bhaṭṭa family, a brother of the famous Kamalākara whose literary activity has been assigned by Prof. Kane (Hist. of Dharma

Śāstra, Vol. I, p. 437 ) to A. D. 1610–1640. His brother Lakṣmaṇa has also to be assigned to the same period, viz. the first half of the 17th century. The MS containing Canto 3 in the Anup Sanskrit Library is dated Samvat 1737 ( A. D. 1680 ). This identity of Lakṣmaṇa receives confirmation from another source also. It is well-known that Kamalākara's mother Umā immolated herself as a Sati (see Prof. Kane, *ibid*, p. 432). Lakṣmaṇa mentions this fact in an introductory verse of the commentary as follows :—

स्पर्धा[म]ग्निनिवेशादुमया प्राप्तामुमासमाख्यां ताम् ।  
द्युनदांनिर्मलचित्रां मातरमेकां सतीं सदा वन्दे ॥

There is thus no doubt that he is the brother of Kamalākara and has to be assigned to the former half of the 17th century.

## ŚRAUTAKOŚA : A LITERARY ENTERPRISE

By C. G. Kashikar, M.A., Vaidika Saṁśodhana Mandala, Poona

It is accepted on all hands that the study of Indology has maintained its course of development throughout since its inception in the last quarter of the 18th century upto the present day. Attention of scholars of the world was first drawn to the classical Sanskrit literature by the English translation of Śakuntalā by Sir William Jones in 1789 A. D. It was Eugene Burnouf who first called attention to the pre-classical Vedic literature which became the subject of close study by scholars in Germany, France, England, America and other countries. Since then the study of Vedic literature has, naturally enough, occupied a chief place in Oriental studies. The study has begun on historical background and attempts have been made to understand the early man in all his aspects. Light has been thrown on the religion, philosophy, history and culture of the ancient Aryans. Voluminous work has been turned out in the various aspects as a result of which a complete picture of ancient India stands before our eyes. The study of Vedic literature has thus made a large contribution to the knowledge of the history of the world and has helped in building new literary sciences like Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology.

The method of modern scientific research in the West has given quite a new turn to the study of ancient literature in India and Indian scholars have equalled, though not surpassed, the western scholars in unravelling the past of India by publishing, studying and interpreting the ancient Sanskrit texts along modern critical lines. In spite of the work turned out up till now there still remains much to be done.

Religion was the main factor of the life of Vedic Aryans. It was, therefore, quite natural that much attention was paid to the understanding of Vedic religion. The study of Vedic religion can be divided into two parts : (1) study of the metaphysical aspect, i. e. mythology, and (2) study of the physical aspect i. e. ritual. The mythological side of Vedic religion has been a subject of close study ever since the beginning of Vedic studies. Various theories have been put forward to explain the character of Vedic deities and there exists even to the present day a difference of opinion as to the origin of at least some of them. The claim of mythological studies has often been stretched

to such an extent that mythology is sometimes regarded as identical with religion. It is a matter of regret that adequate attention has not been given to the ritualistic aspect of the Vedic religion since the early days of study, even though certain scholars have come forward to clarify the abstruse entanglements of the Vedic sacrifice among whom Caland, Hillebrandt, Schwab, Keith and others stand prominent. It must be admitted that the Yajurveda—the ritualistic Veda—has not been a subject of as close a study as the Ṛgveda whose significance in the Vedic literature none can minimise. Very few scholars have devoted themselves to the study of the various Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta-sūtras. For the understanding of the Vedic sacrifice an intimate study of the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras is quite essential.

The Vedic sacrificial institution was both individual and social. From the cultural point of view, the social aspect of Vedic sacrifice is very significant. No study of Vedic society can be complete without a full apprehension of the Vedic sacrifice. Not only that, sacrifice was the backbone of the very life of the Vedic Aryans. A complete picture of Vedic religious and social life cannot be drawn without the study of the comprehensive ritual. Looking to this significance of Vedic ritualism, attempts have been made by western scholars to describe certain sacrifices like the Darśapūrṇamāsa, Agniṣṭoma, and Aśvamedha. In spite of these laudable efforts, a comprehensive survey of Vedic sacrificial ritual has still been a desideratum.

In view of this present position of the ritualistic studies, the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona has undertaken a huge project of compiling a comprehensive dictionary of Vedic ritual. This encyclopaedic work is intended to provide exhaustive material for the study of Vedic religion and culture. The work will besides serve another purpose of equal importance. At present the Vedic ritualism is at a low ebb in India and there are no signs of its revival in the future. History of the last three or four centuries shows that sacrifices have been rarely performed in India. Very few sacrifices have been and are performed here and there, as a result of which the tradition and knowledge of sacrificial performance are fast disappearing. It has, therefore, become essential to record in a comprehensive

manner the procedure of the sacrificial performance for the knowledge of future generations.

A tentative scheme of this Ritual Encyclopaedia called "Śrautakośa" has been framed with the approval of certain scholars which may be given here in short :

The work will consist of two parts. In the first part, the procedure of the sacrifices will be described in the following order :—Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Nirūḍhapaśu, Agniṣṭoma, Dvādaśāha and Agnicayana. All the *Vikṛtis* of a *Prakṛtiyāga* will follow the *Prakṛti*. The description of a sacrifice will begin with a careful collection of all passages in the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas having a direct bearing on the performance of the sacrifice. With a view to presenting the procedure in a chronological order, it has been decided to begin with the Baudhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra. The differences or additions of all other sūtras arranged in a chronological order will then be given. The detailed *Prayoga* of the sacrifice according to the Baudhāyana Sūtra will then follow. Peculiarities of other sūtras will also be recorded if necessary. Thus there will be three stages in the description of each *Prakṛtiyāga* : (1) Procedure in the period of Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, (2) the procedure in the Sūtras, and (3) the procedure in the Prayogas. This method will help the reader to judge the historical development of ritual from Vedic down to the modern period, thus making the work a valuable basic work for further research.

The second part will form a dictionary of sacrificial terms, in which the term will be followed by its meaning based on the texts, commentaries and dictionaries and that again by selected references in Vedic literature in a chronological order. If a term has more than one meaning, they will especially be given along with their references. This part will form a supplementary section to the first part so that technical terms coming every now and then in the ritual part will be explained in the latter. Charts and diagrams will be inserted wherever necessary in order to give the exact idea of implements and other things. The intention in giving both the ritual as well as the references to a technical term in a chronological order is

to set the complete picture of Vedic ritual in a historical perspective. The procedure of Gṛhya rites will be described in a separate chapter. As an aid to the comparative study of ritualism an account of the sacrificial system in the Iranian religion will also be appended. It is to be remembered that this is merely a plan of the work liable to be revised and enlarged as a result of experience and suggestions from interested scholars.

The work of this compilation has been chiefly entrusted to Śrautācārya Dhunḍirājaśāstri Lāṭaḍ Dīkṣita Somayāji who is a renowned Pandit and has actually performed many sacrifices. Among the Adhvaryu priests his name stands first in this part of the country. Even though educated in the traditional manner, he has got critical insight especially as a result of his intimate association with the late Dr. S. V. Ketkar in the huge compilation of Marathi Encyclopaedia. To the Marathi-knowing public he is already well known by his careful translations of Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and a good account of the Gṛhya Saṁskāras. He is assisted by Hautravettṛ Pandit Cintāmaṇi-śāstri Dātār who is well versed in Hautra performance and has also got experience of this type of work. A small advisory committee with Mahāmahoṣādhyāya P. V. Kane as its chairman has also been appointed to give proper advice to the editorial staff. The Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala intends to make the compilation as faultless and as comprehensive as possible, and cooperation of scholars in every possible way is solicited. Attempts have to be made to set the scheme on a nationwide basis.

Work of this nature has never been carried out in any language and it is really a great responsibility that the Maṇḍala has undertaken. It will be found that Macdonell and Keith had thought it proper "to exclude matter belonging to the domain of religion which it seemed better to relegate to a separate work" (Vedic Index Vol. I Preface p. vii) That work has obviously not been carried out by them. This deficiency is expected to be more than fulfilled by this Ritual Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Vedic Sacrificial Terms. It is proposed to publish the work in Marathi, English and Hindi as funds permit. The financial responsibility involved in this project is indeed great and it is hoped that men of wealth will come forward to share the same by patronising this national enterprise of the highest cultural value.

## ON THE VĪṆĀVĀSAVADATTAM

By Prof. C. R. Devadhar, M.A.

Mr. Ramkrishna Kavi's edition of the Nāṭyaśāstra Vol. II in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series contains a supplement to Chapter XVI ( षोडशाध्यायानुबन्धः ) which gives the thirty-six Lakṣaṇas in an altogether different version both in regard to metre and definition from the one commented upon by Abhinavagupta. The editor has given an elaborate commentary on this portion, but has not made it clear whether this is taken by him from some old commentary on what he regards as a separate recension of the text, or whether he has himself written this gloss, as, for instance, he has done for the 7th and 8th chapters where Abhinavagupta's commentary is not available. There is such a wealth of illustrations in this commentary both from known and unknown works as to give the impression that the editor has reproduced some ancient gloss or worked up fragments of old commentaries into his own. For says the editor in a note to Chapter XVI—

अतः प्रथमं वृत्तिकारपाठविलसितमध्यायं सामान्यानुबन्धरूपेण पाठान्तरभागो निर्वचनोदाहरणसहितो महामतीनां चित्तविलासोद्द्योतनाय...संप्रयोजितोऽध्यायान्ते यथालब्धग्रन्थपरिकरः ।

The following is the list of works, both known and unknown from which excerpts are cited in illustration of the Lakṣaṇas :—

- ( 1 ) अविमारक ( 2 ) उभयाभिसारिका ( 3 ) कुन्दमाला ( 4 ) कृत्यारावण
- ( 5 ) कौमुदीमहोत्सव ( 6 ) गदायुद्ध ( which is the same as ऊरुभङ्ग ) ( 7 ) छलितराम ( 8 ) तापसवत्सराज ( 9 ) देवीचन्द्रगुप्त ( 10 ) धूर्तविट ( 11 ) पद्मप्राभृतक
- ( 12 ) पादताडितक ( 13 ) प्रद्युम्नाभ्युदय ( 14 ) मत्तविलास ( 15 ) मालविकाग्निमित्र
- ( 16 ) मुद्राराक्षस ( 17 ) रत्नावली ( 18 ) रामचरित ( 19 ) रामाभ्युदय ( 20 ) वत्सराज-चरित ( 21 ) विकटनितम्बाग्रहसन ( 22 ) विलक्षकुरूपति ( 23 ) वेणीसंहार ( 24 ) शाकुन्तल.

It is very significant that two of the works attributed to Bhāsa are listed here—the अविमारक and the गदायुद्ध ( the same as the ऊरुभङ्ग ). The learned editor would have deserved well of Oriental scholars had he revealed the source or sources of his



gloss—for that would have helped to draw chronological conclusions regarding these works.

Among these citations there are as many as seven from the वत्सराजचरितम्. This work is no other than the वीणावासवदत्तम् as would be clear from the fact that the citations from the first three acts of that play are to be met with in the printed text of the वीणावासवदत्त of which only three acts are so far available (Viṇāvāsavadattam, Madras Oriental Series No. 2, 1931). The remaining citations in the Nāṭyaśāstra commentary are distributed as under :—One from act IV ; one from act VI ; one from act VII and one from act VIII.

It is most unfortunate that the Viṇāvāsavadattam is not available in its entirety. Pandit V. Venkatrama Sharma has long ago revealed, in his article on “Svapnanāṭaka and Svapnavāsavadattā” (IHQ V. 4, pp. 721–727 Dec. 1929) that he is in possession of a fragmentary manuscript of the play which contains eight acts. It may be assumed that the play is complete in eight acts, and what is important is that it gives us the same story as that in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa. It may be possible, therefore, to clear up some of the obscurities in the Pry. by comparison with the Viṇā. As I have demonstrated in my Introduction to the Pry (Ed. 1939), there is a very big hiatus between act III and act IV and we have to understand the following incidents to have taken place between the interval of these two acts :—(i) Yau. must have acted upon his plan of releasing the king from captivity by infuriating the elephant Nalāgiri by spells and herbs and smoke (act III. 4<sup>3-14</sup>), (ii) Mahāsena, out of gratitude to Udayana, who pacifies the elephant, removes him from the prison to his palace (नलागिरीग्रहणार्थं विमुक्तश्चेत् न पुनर्बद्धस्ते स्वामी ॥ iv-18<sup>1-2</sup>), (iii) There the music lessons are arranged (अनग्निसाक्षिकं महासेनस्य दुहितरं शिष्यां प्रतिगृह्य अदत्तापनयनं कृतम्), (iv) Udyana and Vāsavadattā must have been secretly married by Gāndharva rites, (v) and the plan of running away on the she-elephant भद्रवती, while Yaugandharāyaṇa and his secret agents and warriors prevented pursuit by storming the city gates must have been fixed up with the concurrence and knowledge of Vatsarāja. Surely enough this is too big a gap ; but only thus can the story be made to appear as coherent. Let us examine the verses cited in the Nāṭyaśāstra

commentary from Vīṇā. and surmise what stages in the action of the story are indicated therein.

Under गुणकीर्तनम् (XVI. 39) the following passage from the Vatsa. occurs :—

गुणसंकीर्तनं यथा वत्सराजचरिते चतुर्थेऽङ्के शालङ्कायनः —

नीलनागव्यपदेशेन समन्ततः शस्त्रप्रभाभासुरैरस्मद्योधैः परीतेन महति भयस्थाने विगतसंभ्रमं—

तेन प्रोक्तं धैर्यगाम्भीर्यशौर्यप्रज्ञातेजोनीतिदाक्षिण्यगर्भम् ।

वाक्यं सामाद्यं सोज्जितं श्रोत्ररम्यं शास्त्रीकर्तव्यं तद्बुधैः स्वार्थकामैः ॥

भरतरोहकः—एष संक्षिप्तविस्तरो नाम ।

राजा—ततस्ततः ।

शाल०—देव, यस्तस्य युद्धे महति प्रवृत्ते पराक्रमः साहसलाञ्छनः सः ।

प्रद्युम्नरामार्जुनभीमकर्णसाम्बाभिमान्युष्वविचिन्त्य एव ॥ इत्यादि

राजा—अहो तु स्वभावसिद्धानां गुणानामव्यभिचारिता । कुतः —

अविदित इति नैकधा प्रयत्नाद्बहुदिवसं बहुधा परीक्षमाणः ।

द्विगुणमभिविराजते गुणैः स्वैर्मणिरिव जातिविशेषवान् महार्हः ॥

Śālāṅkāyana :—When under the ruse of a blue elephant, he was surrounded by our warriors, covered with the glint of their weapons, even in such a desperate predicament, he spoke, unruffled—those words that bespeak his courage, his high seriousness, his heroism, wisdom, spirit, political sagacity and courtesy, words begun in a conciliatory tone, yet spirited and sweet to the ear, which deserve to be regarded as maxims of polity by the wise who desire to achieve their objects.

Bharatarohaka :—O how much expressed and in how few words !

King :—What next ?

Śālāṅkāyana :—My Lord, the heroism he displayed in that great fight—a heroism marked by great daring,—is unthinkable even in Pradyumna, Arjuna, Bhīma, Karṇa, Sāmba or Abhimanyu.

King :—How unfailing are innate virtues ! For,

Tried in manifold ways with great efforts for a long time, how he, so far unknown, shines doubly by his virtues like some costly gem of high quality !

This has reference to Udayana's fight with Śālaṅkāyana's forces and his subsequent arrest and captivity. The king of Ujjayinī already shows himself partial to Vatsarāja.

The following stanza is taken from act VI of Vatsa. in illustration of पदोच्चय (XVI. 22).

पदोच्चयो यथा वत्सराजचरिते षष्ठेऽङ्के राजोत्तमसचिवं वर्णयति—

खड्गो रक्षान्धकारे रविररितिमिरे कार्यभारेषु धुर्यः  
दीपो मन्त्रान्धकारे सुरगुरुरनये संक्रमो व्यापदोद्ये ।  
उत्कण्ठायां सभागी गतिरनवसरे चन्दनं शोक्तापे  
संक्षेपान्मानुषाभो हितशिवसुखदो भव्यचिन्तामणिर्मे ॥

'He is the sword to protect one in the absence (lit. darkness) of security, the Sun to light the darkness of enemies, the veteran that bears the weight of heavy business, the lamp to illumine darkness in council, Bṛhaspati to guide in a state of anarchy, a bridge to cross the river of misery, sharer in sorrows, showing a way in difficulties, cool as sandal to allay the fever of grief—to put it briefly—he is to me a splendid wish-yielding gem in the form of a human being, securing my welfare and my good.

It is difficult to say whether by 'Rājā' we understand the king of Ujjayinī or Vatsarāja, and hence it is not possible to state the occasion of this eulogy of a minister by a king. However it expresses more likely than not Vatsarāja's admiration for his minister Yaugandharāyaṇa—on the latter's suggesting to him the plans which he had devised for his escape.

The next citation is introduced thus :—

प्रियोक्तिर्यथा—वत्सराजचरिते सप्तमेऽङ्के भरतरोहको वत्सराजाय वासवदत्तां  
वीणाभ्यासार्थमर्पयितुकामस्तं दृष्ट्वाऽह—

या शेते कौस्तुभस्य द्युतिकिपलयिते शारदव्योमनीले  
विष्णोर्वक्षस्युदारे रजनिकरकराकारहारोपहारे ।  
साम्येत्यालिङ्गतु त्वां प्रक्षिथिलगलितेनोत्तरीयेण लक्ष्मी—  
हर्पादापीडयन्ती नवकमलरजोरोचनाभ्यां स्तनाभ्याम् ॥

'May that Lakṣmī that reclines on the wide chest of Viṣṇu, irradiated with the lustre of the Kaustubha gem, blue like the sky in autumn, and adorned with pearl-wreaths that shine like moon-beams, approach you and rejoicing clasp you to her

breasts, bare of the loose upper garment and shining with the pollen of fresh lotuses ! ’

So here the music lessons are arranged. The last quotation is from act VIII. Under तुल्यतकं (XVI. 21) we have

यथा वत्सराजचरितेऽष्टमेऽङ्के राजा

नवार्कभापल्लवितामलोदरे सुगन्धिरेणूस्करकेसरोज्ज्वले ।

रसामृतज्ञो भ्रमरः सरोदहे किमर्कपुष्पे प्रणयं करिष्यति ॥

‘ Will the bee—that connoisseur of the nectar-sweet honey of a lotus blooming in the first splendour of the morning Sun, and bright with filaments and with fragrant clustering pollen, ever love the flower of the Arka plant ? ’

The occasion of this verse is difficult to imagine—but these are probably the words of the king of Ujjayinī who, after the elopement of Vatsarāja and Vāsavadattā, is comforting his Queen—Vāsavadattā’s mother when the latter casts doubt on Vatsarāja’s love for her daughter.

Although it would be idle to draw any conclusions regarding the course of events described in the several acts, yet with our knowledge of the story from the Pratijñā we could surmise the various situations and stages as revealed above. The action moves in a leisurely manner, there is no compression of essential matter, nor any skipping over of the details of the action as we find in the Pratijñā. Here is again another problem—does the Pratijñā represent an abridgment of some older play—not of the Vīṇāvāsavadatta—but of a play which gives the story in a version slightly different from that of the Vīṇāvāsavadattam, in view of the divergences in the earlier portions of the Vīṇā. (acts I to IV) from the corresponding portions (act I and II) of the Pratijñā ?

# THE RĠVEDIC BALLADS

By Prof. P. S. Shastri, M.A.

A Ballad is a short dancing song, simple in plot, and plain in expression and treatment. Narration of incident or incidents, quite unconnected sometimes, is its prime concern. It mainly deals with an episode or simple motif in a regular stanza form. Oral transmission being the process of making it deliberately live, it passes through the hands of many who subtract and add as they like. As such there is absolutely little scope either for deliberate art or for the intrusion of personality. The original composer of the ballad cannot be known completely. Most of the interesting ballads of the west are anonymous productions. Simplicity and lack of art characterise their diction and metre. This undoubtedly is the reason why they are neglected for a long time by the connoisseurs of art, and thus we lose many a valuable poem.

This literary form evolves through the process of epic, lyric and drama ; and every epic is the grouping together of many a ballad existing previously and giving them an artistic form. Here and there we find the dramatic bent in these short pieces. The metrical form itself suggests that it was accompanied by dancing and something like a chorus. In the Vṛṣākapi hymn, for example, even Indra has to say "Viśvasmād Indra uttarah" (10. 86). This can be explained only on the assumption that the chorus or the orchestra-like something used to take up these refrains, as it is generally done even by the rhapsodists of the present day. The seeds of the drama and the epic and of the pure national life are latent here.

Percy, Scott and others believed that the ballads are the descendants of some greater literary works, and that these were composed by the minstrels, who professed the joint arts of poetry and music.<sup>1</sup> But this view of the literary origin was not favoured by others, who stress the national interest in them. A. W. Schlegel held that "they were not made for the people, but in a certain manner by the people as a whole",<sup>2</sup> that they carry

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1. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

2. *Ibid*.

on the traditions of the primitive art which is no art. As such these are the counter-parts of those of the artist. This is the duality in process and product, nature and art, which Schlegel believed to be vital for a proper aesthetic theory. But as Kittredge observed, "the processes of oral tradition amount to a second act of composition—a collective composition—of an inextricably complicated character." Even the original composition cannot be said to be by a minstrel alone, but by any one who is endowed with a heart and a poetic gift, and who is moved by the incident he witnessed.

Despite the narrative character and the religious and historical themes of the ballads, these Vedic ballads seem to have been accompanied now and then by dance and a chorus. Rigvedic ballads do not contain any proper story. Narration is their primary objective, and music the accompaniment. Strictly speaking the Vedic ballads cannot be called ballads in the modern sense of the term. We do not possess any single story narrated in full in any hymn. Mostly we have a good number of anecdotes heaped together at one stretch, giving a brief and a very concise account of the exploits. Sometimes these take a purely descriptive turn and bestow ample scope for poetic vagaries, and linguistic subtleties.

The nucleus of religion, or nationalism, or martial spirit, or social fervour is found in many of these poems; and this is one of the distinguishing criteria that stamps them as ballads. They form almost a series of ballad-cycles after Sūrya, Indra, Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Áśvins generally, besides many more. It is these that gave rise to the epic stories or the Itihāsas or Ākhyānas of the latter day. In some places we have occasional ballad snatches added on to some hymns without practically no inherent connexion. And one such is the small conversation between Bhāvayavya and his wife Romaśā (1. 126). These only go to prove the existence of the ballads and their rebirth in an entirely new garb. The frequent references in the text to carving out a hymn, fabricating one, constructing one, and decorating it can also refer to the reshaping of old ballads. The reference to ancient poets and their compositions, the longing to emulate that standard, the claim to originality and at times to imitation,

clearly lead us in a good number of cases to the shaping and reshaping of ballad poetry. Vasiṣṭha observes :—

“Full many a deed ye did for our forefathers worthy of lauds, which even of old, they sang you” (7. 56. 23).

Another poet tells us that “to-day too the poets are singing as of old” (8. 15. 6). “Generate songs even as of old” (8. 13. 7); “living men to-day, even as of old, sing forth their praises to his majesty” (8. 3. 8). There is enough ground here to suspect that the poets are referring to some ballad collections. Though devoid of much artistic sophistry, the ballad being a song celebrating some event or events, is liable to be carried on for a long time orally till at last some artist steps into the arena to reduce it down to an art form and standardise it. As such they are generally fragmentary, obscure since the event is of the remote past, and anonymous. The hymn of Mudgala is such a typical example (10. 102). The author of the marriage hymn is said to be Sūryā !

The events of the remote past are sung as ballads for a long time and after some time the ballad itself loses the original character, and it finally comes to exist only by way of references, or allusions. Many of the exploits of the gods are of this type. And even the ballad of the ten kings is not preserved for us in its pristine purity, being diffused into three separate hymns; and many allusions to it make it loom large. Śunaḥ Śepa by himself brings out a cycle, which was evolved into a fine story in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Purāṇas. The risings and settings of the sun, his relations with Uṣas and other phases of light, the heroic and glorious deeds of Indra together with the Maruts and Bṛhaspati, the three steps and abode of Viṣṇu, the cosmic nature of Rudra, the benevolent activities of the heavenly twins, the Soma plant and the consequent punning on the word Soma to mean also the moon, enable us to peep deeply into the springs of these ballad cycles.

Viewed in this light, the ballad of the Ṛgveda seems to be the best connecting link between the remote past and the present. It is the unforgettable tale of immemorial antiquity that is handed down to us in this shape. The changing times and the long interval have given a mythical colouring, a coating

- which is hard to be pierced. But here and there we get allusions that look like clues, but often they elude our grasp. The cult of the Vedas, and the history of the vedic peoples are faithfully, but a little mistily represented in these songs. At the same time they are literary in that they gave rise to the Epic and the classical poetry. The great lapse in time has made some of them simple fragments, whose exact meaning is still a mystery.

Most of these songs are to be taken only in the wider sense as ballads. They are the *ākhyānas*, the narratives of the Epic-cycles. The war song has in its present shape completely lost the ballad features, though the general handling of the theme lends weight to its actual nature. The marriage song is a heterogeneous collection of various anecdotes, all belonging to the same ballad series. The well song of Trita in the first book is more a monologue, but in the actual narration of events, it is a ballad ; besides it was re-edited, so to say, by Kutsa. This rehandling of an ancient theme is a peculiar ballad feature. The hymn of the frogs has both the comical and the serious parts in it. It may be a regular rain-spell as some have supposed ; but it narrates the situation with an epic grandeur. The flight of Agni and the letting loose of the waters described in 10. 124, partakes both the features of a dramatic piece and of the ballad. And the presence of the narrator in the concluding stanzas may also serve as a stage-direction and as a *phalaśruti* told in metre. The hymns of Mudgala and of Juhū seem to be fragments of true ballads like some others. Thus it is quite difficult to draw a hard and fast rule between a ballad proper and a song or a dialogue or a monologue. The idea of narration brings them all into one string.

Many germs of the latter day *ākhyānas* are constantly heaped together in the hymns in a very loose way, suggesting sometimes an original ballad-cycle, as for instance in the Vṛtra and Vala myths. Similarly the actual marriage of Sūryā, though it is sung as a separate hymn, can be collected from the various allusions and references to it that are strewn in the whole *samhitā*. The exploits of the Gods have again given rise to new ballads in course of time. All these clearly point to the existence of a type of *ākhyāna* in the actual ballad tradition. An



attempt is made here to group all the germs of the latter narrative stories of the epic fibre, that can be traced to the Rgvedic sources.

Tradition styles these hymns ākhyāna, ākhyāyikā, kathā, itihāsa and gāthā, though some of these terms actually occur with reference to the dialogue hymns also. The common element in both is the presence of an ancient story, the prevalence of music and dance. It is these songs that really deserve the name of Ākhyāna; and here we find the origins of our epic literature.

The ballad is a lyrical narrative having a popular origin generally and is transmitted orally from generation to generation in that particular part of society where it originated. There is much of dance-tradition here, represented now by the burthen of the song. Even at the time of standardising them in a literary garb, the purity and simplicity of poetic diction are not checked. In a good number of cases the same story is taken up, but is treated with different poetical motives. The ballads of slaying Vṛtra and Vala are handled by a good number of poets, but the effect is always different and distinct. Indra's fight yields the waters primarily, and the light follows suit thereupon. Trita's struggle with the same Vṛtra has given place to symbolism, the cloud playing the part of Varāha. The part played by the Maruts here has a musical tone; and the whole song echoes rapturous melodies. Bṛhaspati's combat yields in the efficacy of knowledge, the supremacy of will, and the indispensable nature of the song. Here it is the rays, figuratively punned as cows, that come out in fresh verdures. All these are but the poetical renderings of incidents and affairs which were vividly experienced at that time. In its oral transmission the ballad comes to lose gradually its immediate spirit of the day (Zeit-geist), till at last pure symbolism allies with magic and sorcery and stares at us, as if it were the riddle of the sphinx. A similar fate has overtaken the sublime picture of Uṣas giving place to the rising sun.

These ballads have a peculiar similarity in their modes of thought and in their ideas, which are attributed by some to the community at large. The folk-lore is a repository of popular

tales (Märchen) and ballads. The fairy tales are full to the brim with many incidents and adventures, that cannot be reasonably thrust into the ballad mould. Some of the best ballads in the west have tragical endings, and are even called "lyrical tragedies". But R̥gveda, which breathes an air of happiness, blithe charm, and magniloquent optimism always endeavours to subdue this sad note. It is only the ballad of Trita (1. 105) that has any claim to the name of the "lyrical tragedy". Some of the rest do take some painful scenes, but they are not represented anywhere as formidable potentates. There is always a strong element of the folk-lore in these ballads, but this element is generally of a refined temperament, as it alone supplies the colour, the aureole of that community. But this element is too restricted and only serves to prepare the background, as it is evident in all the Vṛtra and Vala songs. Here it is well to remember that these songs originally existed as full-fledged lyrical narratives, but as time slowly moved on, serious havoc was wrought over their form; and it is exactly for this reason that we do not possess even a single, complete and true ballad relating to Vala or Vṛtra. They have become the property of every man and we have lost many a song of triumph. These were probably sung in various festive gatherings called "Samana", in royal courts, on the battle fields, and may be also in the literary academies termed Vidatha, pariṣad, samiti and the like. It is the prevalence of the literary fashion that puts an end to the simple technique and the popular features of the ballads. Thus with the growth of the pure literary form, the ballad of antiquity loses its traditional features greatly, and sometimes even disappears, leaving only a few allusions. It is only in some such way that we can account for the paucity of the pure ballads and for the frequent allusions to these ballad myths and features in the existing redaction of the R̥gveda. Conscious literary art steps into the shoes of the primeval folk-lore.

Literary art brings forth the ballad as a distinct species of the literary forms, when it has an inherent value of its own. This artistic form thus constituted can handle any matter, but changes its character. The incident becomes momentous, and the situation represents the transition point in the fortunes, as

in the song of Mudgala. The help given by Mudgalānī to her husband in the battle had secured for her a place on an equal footing with her co-wives. Trita's falling into the well is of stupendous importance in his life. All these ballads are very short and proceed throughout with the topic in hand. They do not digress at all. Here the marriage hymn presents some trouble if we take it as a single ballad. Here we have the invocation to Soma, actual marriage spells and incantations, journey of the married couple and blessings. All these are loosely woven into the texture of a single song giving us a glimpse into the entire marriage customs of these days. There is always a magical glow here and want of relevancy in the fabrication of the song. But even here they are not really digressions, as the marriage is the main unifying feature. The lyrical form and the dancing custom add to its unity. Ballads like these show the original epic talent for seeing things in the frame of a definite plot. It is in the clear planning that the author of the ballad shows a very rare skill in art and a keen psychological insight.

The ballad thus comes to be a lyrical narrative, attaching great importance to sentiment. It is traditional, objective, and impersonal, having a community of interest. Though narration seems to be essential and indispensable, the narrative is not a fundamental and essential fact in its structure. It is the process of narration, the delineation of the sentiment that is more important here. The story-interest is of a later growth. The situation keeps up the unity and interest in the ballad. The song of Mudgala does not give us any elaborate narration, but a few lines of conversation, cross references and allusions to the exploits. But the situation that is selected here is of vital importance as it marks the transition point in the life of the barren Mudgalānī. And similar is the case with the flight of Agni told in 10. 124. It has of course its association with the earlier trilogy 10. 51 to 53., of which this seems to be an abridged account.

"The refrain is an organic part of the ballad" which, like the choral songs, sprang from dance. It conclusively establishes the lyrical and choral origins. The refrain owes its birth to the

songs at dance, play and work ; and these are firmly implanted in the minds of the nation. Sometimes only the refrain seems to have the proper meaning. Refrains that are found in Rġveda are of two kinds. The first is in the nature of a stanza that comes at the end of a hymn. There are forty-three in number occurring at least 129 times. Excepting two, all of them occur in the same book (10. 89. 18 ; 104. 11). These are like the formulas, having a family character ; and at times serve to identify the original family of the composer. Whether the hymn in question has a bearing on this refrain verse or not they must automatically come. On a similar line stand the various verses praying for riches, cattle and heroes, at the end of some of the sublimest hymns. These verses often spoil the beauty and poetry of the hymns concerned. But they are a necessity and they must follow, whether one likes them or not. Thus the final stanzas of a good number of hymns, though they are repeated verbally, have their ideas repeated. And these two sorts of refrains are a sort of nursery rhymes that do not belong to the actual hymns. They are mere conventional additions of no literary value.

The second and more important type of refrains actually occurs as a single line or two at the end of every stanza in the hymn concerned. There are roughly ninety in number occurring in almost all the books. The eighth and the ninth books have no refrain stanzas. The eighth book is rich in refrain lines. A good number of the refrains occur in songs, in purely lyrical productions. Some of them find their way into the ballads also. They only suggest that these were intended to be sung while dancing.

Dialogue springs out of the choral song, and a good number of the ballads in the other languages are made up of dialogues and refrains alone. Here the ballad opening is abrupt, dramatic and enticing. Repetition too plays a prominent part. They are full of action and give us strong situations. And "the force of the ballad style is centripetal, emotional, communal, cumulative, not suggestive, not intellectual and centrifugal. What is true of the style, the invention, is also true of the external form". Form and diction are simple and follow some definite pattern throughout. There is a tinge of conventionality around them but the

freshness and vigour of the sentiments attract us for ever towards them. And as Sidney speaks of poetry in general, we can say with reference to the ballads, that she "comes to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with or prepared for the well enchanting skill of music ; and with a tale, forsooth, she cometh unto you, with a tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney corner."

The existing ballads of the R̥gveda can safely be divided broadly into five classes :—

1. First, we have the legendary ballads of an epical and historical interest. Vṛtra, Vala and others are the main stay of this collection. We can group the famous hymn of marriage also here as it celebrates the legendary marriage of Sūryā, being intended mainly to be an ideal.

2. Next, we have the ballads of superstition like Vasiṣṭha's hymn to the frogs. Here it is not superstition that actually plays a prominent part, but a sort of magical and mystical spell is employed to bring forth the desired effect.

3. Thirdly, we have the riddle ballads. These have a philosophical and mystical significance. It is curious to note that the refrain also peeps into this group as in the song of Hiraṇyagarbha (10. 121): "Kasmai Devāya haviṣā vidhema."

4. The fourth group is purely martial in character. These songs of chivalry, of course, share some of the qualities of the first group ; but here the historical and the more realistic factor is definite. The war songs and the fight of Sudāsas are here.

5. Finally, we have the ballads dealing with relations and associations. The parental ties as those of Apālā (8. 80), the jealous attitude of the co-wife as expressed by Indrāṇī and Mudgalāṇī, adultery or elopement and the final reconciliation as it seems to be suggested by the song of Juhū (10. 109), and others akin to it fall into this group. The songs of Indrāṇī, the address to the Oṣadhis by Bhiṣag Ātharvaṇa and some others of a similar nature owing to the literary form adopted by the poets have been treated elsewhere as monologues.

## RTA OR THE ZODIACAL BELT

By Vishnu Hari Vader, M.A., LL.B., Belgaum

Zodiac is a belt of the heavens limited by lines about  $8^\circ$  from the ecliptic on each side including all apparent positions of the sun and planets as known to the ancients and divided into 12 equal parts called the signs of the Zodiac i.e. मेष, वृषभ, मिथुन, कर्क, सिंह, कन्या, तुला, वृश्चिक, धनु, मकर, कुंभ, मीन. Each formerly containing the similarly named Zodiacal constellation but now precession of equinoxes, coinciding with the constellation that bears the name of the preceding sign ; e.g. the constellations Pisces ( मीन ), Arics ( मेष ) are now in the signs Aries and Taurus वृषभ.

In short, the Zodiacal belt is the tract of the sky all round the celestial sphere,  $16^\circ$  in width i.e.  $8^\circ$  wide on both sides of the ecliptic, in which the 28 lunar-mansions ( नक्षत्र ) are situated and in which, the sun, the moon, the planets with their satellites, the minor planets etc. appear to move.

In this article, I propose to explain that the Vedic word ऋत, or ऋतस्य पंथाः is synonymous with the Zodiacal belt. The whole belt will in all probability, comprise the ऋत and सत्य portion of the heavens. We shall later on describe the limits and situation of the path of सत्य.

Lokmanya Tilak in his *Orion* p. 157 says :—"It is said that we cannot suppose that the Vedic bards were acquainted even with the simplest motions of the heavenly bodies. The statement, however, is too general and vague to be criticized and examined. If it is intended to be understood in the sense that the complex machinery of observation which the modern astronomers possess and the results which they have obtained thereby were unknown in early days, then I think, there cannot be two opinions on that point. But if by it is meant that the Vedic poets were ignorant of everything except the sun and the dawn, ignorant of the Nakṣatras, ignorant of months, *ayanas*, years and so on, then there is no authority or support for such a supposition in the *R̥gveda*." On the contrary we find that some of the Nakṣatras are specifically named viz. अर्जुनी, and अघा i.e. पूर्वाफल्गुनी, उत्तराफल्गुनी and मघा in R. V. X. 85. 13. Similarly, R. V. I. 164 we have several references to seasons and also to *Ayanas*.

(Yāska, *Nirukta* VII. 24). But we shall deal with them in another article in detail. The intercalary month is mentioned in R. V. I. 25. 8, while in R. V. I. 24. 8 it is stated that the regal Varuṇa verily made wide the path of the Sun (by which) to travel on his daily course : a path to travel in the pathless (space).

This path evidently means the Sun's course north and south of the celestial equator i.e. in the Zodiacal belt.

The path of ऋत is mentioned several times in *Rgveda* e.g. R. V. I. 41. 4 in which the Ādityas repair to the sacrifice. In R. V. X. 85. 1 Ādityas are said to be placed in that path and therein सरमा discovered the cows of Indra. The luminaries never transgressed this path which was so to speak, their Right way. R. V. I. 24. 10 is explicit ; it says "Moon and all the नक्षत्राः shine in ऋत in accordance with the ordinance of वरुण".

In R. V. I. 136 by परुच्छेप in praise of मित्रावरुणा verse 2 is found very difficult for exposition by commentators like Sāyana. They wrongly translate the word ऋत by यज्ञ i.e. worship or devotion. The verse may be translated thus :—The very wide path of ऋत i.e. the Zodiacal Belt has become visible for the wide sacrifice. The Sun in the Zodiacal belt has become united with the rays." Sun here is the eye of भग.

The heavenly seat of मित्र—presiding deity of अनुराधा is δ Scorpio ; and of अर्यमा the presiding deity of पूर्वा फल्गुनी i.e. δ Leo. and of वरुण presiding deity of शतभिषक् λ Aquarius has becoms visible.

Their सदन may be interpreted as the constellation itself over which they are said to be the presiding deity.

In our ancient Arctic Home known as प्रतनोक, it may be remembered that at a time only 14 Lunar mansions viz. नक्षत्राः in the Zodiacal belt are visible. भग presiding deity of उत्तरा फल्गुनी i.e. of Deucbola β Leo.

In some Vedic works presiding deity of उत्तराफल्गुनी is said to be अर्यमा and पूर्वा फल्गुनी is said to be presided over by भग. From this we can conclude that the नक्षत्राः from पूर्वाफल्गुनी to शतभिषक् were at one time visible in the ancient north Polar Home and the remaining lunar mansions were invisible for a period of about 960 years.

It may be noted in this connection that अनुराधा (deity मित्र) was 7th from पूर्वाफल्गुनी or in the centre of the Zodiacal belt then visible in the ancient Home of the Vedic Aryans. Why मित्रावरुणौ are given a very pre-eminent position among the Vedic deities will be explained in detail in the sequel. R. V. I. 136. 3 says in clear terms that मित्र and वरुण follow day after day Aditi, who is filled with light, who supports the earth, who supports the heaven. The watchful मित्रावरुणौ follow Aditi day after day: They the sons of Aditi and lords of bounty (दानुनस्पतां) have attained to the sovereignty of light (ज्योतिष्मत् क्षत्रम्). अदिति may be explained as the visible part of the heavens, and दिति the invisible one in our Ancient Arctic Home.

In the book वेदार्थयत्न, ऋतस्य पन्थाः is interpreted as the Sun itself but that is obviously incorrect (Vide वेदार्थयत्न commentary on R. V. I. 136. 3). The phrase also occurs in R. V. I. 115. 1 and VII 63. 1 and it has clearly the meaning of the Zodiacal belt there. In R. V. I. 124. 3 Dawn is said to follow ऋतस्य पन्थाः which is transversed by Adityas, Savitā or Varuṇa. In R. V. I. 123. 8 Dawns follow the long course of वरुण. This broad course of वरुण (वरीयसी गातुः) is the same as the वरीयसी गातुः in R. V. I. 136. 2. See also R. V. V. 80. 4. There the phrase ऋतस्य पन्थाः means the Zodiacal belt. The same broad course is meant by ऋतस्य खाम् in R. V. II. 23. 5. In R. V. II. 23. 15 and many other places the word ऋत प्रजात means "visible or born in the Zodiac." In R. V. IV. 53. 4 it is stated that सविता श्रुतव्रतो महो अजमस्य राजति ॥—This great path is said to exist in the द्युलोक. This is the same as ऋतस्य पन्था or वरीयसी गातुः or दीर्घं वरुणस्य धाम. i.e. the Zodiacal Belt. In this connection R. V. II. 24. 7 is very important: ऋतावानः कवयः अनृता परिचक्ष्य अतः पुनः महः पथः आतस्थुः This great path is the same वरीयसी गातुः or Zodiacal Belt.

In R. V. III. 31. 5 it is stated that the seven sages, pious and wise, liberated and sent forth with a ruddy hymn (प्राचामनसा i.e. प्रवण मागंवत् इंद्रं प्रति धावतेव स्तोत्रेण) the cows that were in the mountain fastness. They discovered the whole path of ऋत. (i.e. विश्वां ऋतस्य पथ्याम्) and in the next verse (6) it is further stated that सरमा discovered the split of the mountain, she restored to its entirety the vast ancient path or space (महिपूर्य पाथः) Vide also R. V. V. 45-7. 8.



In the *Orion* on p. 158 Lokamanya Tilak says, "This is the broad belt of the Zodiac. If divested of the poetic allegory, the two verses namely III. 31. 5, 6 R. V. will clearly show that by means of the observation of the constellation सप्तविप्राः or सप्तर्षि i.e. the Ursa Major, the sages or scientific men were able to know the vast ancient path of ऋत in its entirety. That सप्तर्षिः and सप्तविप्राः are identical can be inferred from R. V. IV. 42. 8. The same group of stars is known by the term ऋक्षाः. These सप्तविप्राः are mentioned in R. V. III. 7. 7, III. 31. 5 and IV. 2. 15 that these seven विप्राः or ऋषिः is the constellation Ursa Major can be safely inferred from IV. 2. 15 because there they are said to be born of उषा and sons of द्यौः and in the following verse it is also stated that R. V. IV. 2. 16 their great and ancient ancestors made observations of ऋत rightly and singing hymns attained to a brilliant seat, i.e. दाधिति. Of the constellation Ursa Major one star is named अंगिरा (α Ursa Major) or Alioth; another अत्रि (δ Ursa Major) and वसिष्ठ (ζ Ursa Major). The names of seven sages are differently given in different texts.

R. V. I. 164. 11 describes the ऋतस्यचक्रम्. It has 12 spokes; it ceaselessly revolves round heaven without becoming old; 720 children arranged in couples are mounted on it. It is universally admitted that this hymn is a later production. Formerly all the Aryans, before their separation, observed a year of 9 or 10 months; e.g. September, October, November and December were their 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th months. But when the Aryans migrated downwards they had to increase the number from 10 to 12.

In the same hymn the above point is minutely expounded. We have here to see that the word ऋत here means undoubtedly the Zodiacal belt which is of course like a wheel with spokes; the number of spokes depends on the place of the observer whether in the different latitudes of the circumpolar regions or in the regions next below. This path of ऋत was so to speak the "right way" of the luminaries like the Sun, Moon, Dawn etc. and hence called ऋत which though derived from ऋ to go, soon came to mean the *right* path, the circle of which exists for ever or rather exists and exists in the vault of heaven द्यां परिवर्तितम् चक्रम् R. V. I. 164. 11. The wheel of ऋत ceaselessly revolves round

the heaven. Even Prof. Ludwig had to further admit that R̥gveda mentions आभंगय i.e. the inclination of the ecliptic to the equator (23° 30'). Vide R. V. I. 110. 2. Further he admits that the axis of the earth is mentioned in R. V. X. 86. 4. From R. V. V. 40 it can be proved that an eclipse of the Sun was observed (perhaps for the first time) by Atri [ Vide Proceedings of the American Oriental Society Vol. XIII. pp. 17-22 ].

About R. V. III. 31. 9 [ This is a hymn by विश्वामित्र in praise of Indra ] Sāyanācārya says that the whole hymn is very difficult. But it may appear very lucid if the astronomical exposition of the verses be distinctly made.

अमृतत्वाय गातुं कृण्वानासः गव्यता मनसा अकैः निपेदुः ।

एषां नु इदं चित् भूरि सदनम् (आसीत्) येन ऋतेन(ते)मासान् असिषासन् ॥ ९ ॥

“With a mind to obtain the cows they sat down with hymns making the road to अमृतत्वं continuous Sunlight. This and no other was their great session that they wished to obtain the months through the ऋत. The word मासान् is interpreted to mean अभिप्लव, पृष्टय, षडहैः कल्पितान् etc. In this verse ऋत means the Zodiacal belt where in the months were obtained. अभिप्लव is the long day while षष्टय is the alteration of sun and twilight.

Examples of R. V. passages may be multiplied in which the word ऋत or ऋतरय are used in the sense of the Zodiacal belt. In many passages ऋत means water and also यज्ञः. The root meaning of the word is the “course” of things, which is considered to be under the guardianship of the highest gods.

It also means order—in the Moral world as truth and Right and in the Religious world as sacrifice or rite, and in the Phenomenal world as “the Zodiac.”

In R. V. X. 190 it is stated “that from (तपस्) kindled heat was born ऋत and सत्य and रत्रि and then अणव, i.e. watery fluid. From that fluid, the coursing year (संवत्सर) was born, disposing day and night, the ruler of all that close their eyes. And in their order the Sun and Moon and Heaven and Earth: the regions of Air and Light.” This shows that ऋत was first born. It may mean Cosmic order (here in this Hymn) which was first born before the creation took place.

from ऋत wern born

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| (i) सोम or Moon    | R. V. IX. 108. 8                         |
| (ii) द्यावा पृथिवी | R. V. X. 65. 8                           |
| (iii) मरुतः        | { R. V. III. 54. 13<br>R. V. VII. 66. 13 |
| (iv) अग्नि         | R. V. IV. 5. 9                           |
| (v) बृहस्पति       | R. V. II. 23. 3                          |
| (vi) सूर्य         | R. V. V. 62. 12                          |
| (vii) उपस्         | R. V. VII. 74. 1                         |
| (viii) मित्रावरुणौ | { R. V. I. 2. 8<br>R. V. VII. 61. 2      |
| (ix) विश्वेदेवाः   | R. V. V. 64. 1.                          |

This ऋत proceeding from the Brahman still rules and upholds the universe regulating the course of the Sun, Moon, Dawn the Winds, Year, Day and Nights, seasons and the stars and the birth, growth and decay of the vegetable and animal life." [ Rigvedic Culture by A. C. Dass, p. 484. ]

Now we shall deal with the interpretation of words derived from ऋत and the compounds in which ऋत is the chief component part. For instance

ऋतावान्	ऋतस्य पथ्या
ऋतसन्	„ गोपाः ; ऋतपाः
ऋतावृध	ऋतानाम्
ऋतजात	ऋतानि
ऋतप्रजात	ऋतस्य रथी
ऋतसापः	ऋतस्य धाम
ऋतावरी	„ योग
ऋतस्य रश्मीन्	ऋतायते in R. V. II. 32. 1
„ वेशी	ऋतस्य रोहिता अरुपा
अनृत	ऋतचित् and ऋतज्ञ
ऋतस्य सदन	ऋतेन ऋतं नियतम् R. V. IV. 3. 9
„ यानि	„ अद्रि व्यसन् „ 3. 11
„ दीधिति	

There are many such words and phrases. We have dealt above only with a few of them.

We submit that whenever the above words are used in connection with the heavenly luminaries like the sun, moon or

constellations etc. or the heavenly phenomena like उपस्, the अश्विनौ, (i.e. Zodiacal light and the Gegenschine) etc. the words do convey the meaning of the Zodiacal Belt wherein the phenomena occur or the luminaries move. R. V. II. 23. 3. states that बृहस्पति having driven away demons and darkness, mounts the chariot of ऋत which is भीम ज्योतिष्मन्तम् and स्वर्दिदम्. We are inclined to hold that बृहस्पति here referred to is the planet Jupiter who rises in the Zodiacal lunar-mansions. बृहस्पति has a bow the string of which is the ऋत. R. V. II. 24. 8 and A. V. V. 18-8, 9. This proves that the form of ऋत is like an arc of a circle.

In A. V. VII. 6. 2 which is the same as V. S. 24. 5 Aditi is called the mistress of ऋत and from ऋत and Aditi the Adityas are born. [ It is also noteworthy that Aditi is said to be the wife of Viṣṇu in V. S. 29-60 or T. S. 7. 5. 14. ] In IV. 23 of R. V. a Hymn by वामदेव, verses (8-10) are in praise of Deity ऋत. By ऋत the author of the वेदार्थयत्न means Indra or Āditya or सत्य or यज्ञ. Now verses 8-10 are in praise of ऋत which commentators take to mean उपासनारूप अथवा धर्मरूप देवता.

In our opinion the verses are not clearly explained either by Sāyanācārya or the English Translators of the Ṛgveda.

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## OBITUARY NOTICES

### PROFESSOR KOKILESWAR SASTRI, M.A., Vidyāratna

Born 1869.

Died 18th March 1945.

In the sad demise of Prof. Kokileswar Sastri, Vidyāratna, M. A. at Calcutta on the evening of 18th March 1945 Sanskrit learning in general and Indian philosophy in particular suffered an irreparable loss. The writer of this note had the good fortune of coming into contact with this eminent scholar in 1932 and enjoying his cooperation in the work of the *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, to which he contributed learned papers on “*Was Śaṅkara a Pantheist?*” (Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1-13); “*Māyā in Vedānta*” (Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 152-163) as also some reviews (Vol. IV, No. 7, pp. 114-115). The present writer had entertained since this contact the highest opinion about Prof. Sastri’s many qualities of head and heart and this opinion has been uniformly corroborated by many scholars of repute in India and outside, who knew this veteran scholar through his erudite writings, characterized by independence of mind, brilliancy in exposition, and original research coupled with logical precision and scientific presentation. It is, therefore, no wonder that Prof. Sastri was highly respected both by his seniors and juniors alike.

It is impossible to record in this note all the published writings of Prof. Sastri. We may, however, mention the following —

- (1) *Outlines of Vedānta Philosophy*.
- (2) *Advaita-Vād* (in Bengali).
- (3) *Introduction to Advaita Philosophy* (Pub. by the Calcutta University).
- (4) *Upaniṣader Upadeśh* (in 3 big vols. in Bengali). This is considered to be “a masterpiece of original research in the field of Indian Philosophy.”—Three editions of this work have been published so far. A Hindi Translation of this work by Pandit B. Sukla of Oudh was published and has passed through two editions.

(5) *Philosophy of the Rgveda*; (6) *A Short History of Sanskrit Literature*. Besides these works Prof. Sastri wrote elaborate critical reviews of many standard works on Indian Philosophy and contributed valuable articles to several Memorial Volumes in honour of M. M. Kuppaswami Sastri, Dr. Gangadhara Jha, Prof. K. B. Pathak, Dr. Lanman and others. He was Professor for many years in the College of the Ruling Chief of Cooch Behar State, where in an Installation Darbar the late Maharaja Jitendranarayan Bhup Bahadur publicly announced him as the Chief Sava-Pandit of the State. The Calcutta University appointed him Lecturer in the Departments of Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy of the Post Graduate Department, where he put in a distinguished service for more than a score of years and retired as Head of the Sanskrit Department. He was for several years President of the Board of Higher Studies in Sanskrit and a Member of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts. He delivered a course of *Sree Gopal Basu Mallik Fellowship Lectures* (Subsequently published in a book-form).

Prof. Sastri was a scion of an old renowned Pandit family of Bengal, the progenitor of which was the great Udācya Bhāṭṭācārya Thākura Rāmakṛṣṇa, the author of "Adhikaraṇa Kaumudī" etc. Prof. Sastri is the second son of Pandit Sriswar Vidyāraṁkāra, a great Sanskrit poet and author of *Vijayini Kāvya*, *Delhi-Mahotsavakāvya*, *Śaktiśatakam* etc. His mother Śyāma Sundarī died a "Satee" with her husband, both of them breathing their last on the same day and at the same hour. Prof. Sastri had secured spiritual training in Yoga from the great Bengali ascetic Vijaya Krishnan Goswami while he was very young in age.

Prof. Sastri leaves behind him his widow, two sons\* and one daughter and also grand-children and great-grand-children to mourn his loss, which is shared alike by his friends and admirers.

P. K. GODE

\* The eldest of these sons is Mr. Brahmeswar Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L. to whom I convey my best thanks for supplying to me valuable information about the biography of his father.

P. K. G.

**The Late Dr. Heinrich Lüders of Berlin and the late Dr. Otto Stein of Prague :—**Though the sad news of the death of Dr. Lüders of Berlin was received in India a year ago and given publicity in Oriental Journals, we had no independent confirmation of it from reliable sources. I had, therefore, written to my friend Dr. H. N. Randle, Librarian, India Office Library, London, to get some information about the fate of scholars in Germany and Central Europe. In reply to my letter, Dr. Randle was kind enough to send me the following information as per his letter of *13th November 1945* :—

“It is still difficult to trace the fate of scholars in Germany and Central Europe but I have had the lamentable news in a letter from the late Dr. Otto Stein’s sole surviving relative in Prague that Dr. Stein and his wife were deported from Prague to Lodz in Poland in *October 1942*, and that they both met their death in *April 1943*. He contributed many articles upto 1938 to Indian Journals ( including, of course, the *New Indian Antiquary* ) and no doubt you will make his tragic and untimely end known in India where his name was so widely known and respected.”

Dr. Randle has sent me an extract from a letter from Prof. Sten Konow addressed to Prof. P. Kahle of Oxford in which we get the following information about the sad demise of Dr. Lüders and Mrs. Lüders.—

“Lüders died the 7th of May 1943, from heart failure and his wife followed him the *13th of February* this year (1945). She had been up to Berlin and fetched parts of his manuscripts and then fell down and died on the railway station Friedrich-strasse.”

Prof. Kahle observes :—“Lüders and Sten Konow had always been good friends and so we can take this notice concerning Lüders as a definitive one. I have been in close touch with Lüders for more than 20 years in the committee of the D. M. G. and we had become good friends. He was not in a very good health during the last years and so we were nearly convinced that the rumour of his death was true.”

The above news about the sad demise of Dr. Lüders and Mrs. Lüders as also that of the tragic demise of Dr. Stein and Mrs. Stein will be read with sorrow by all their friends in India and outside.

P. K. CODE

## REVIEWS

**Historical Tamil Reader**—By Vidyāratna Dr. P. S. Subramanya Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit at the Annamalai University, Annamalai University publication, Annamalainagar, 1945, pp. xxx + 96 ; price Rs. 2-8-0.

We welcome the Historical Tamil Reader as it attempts to supply a long-felt want for a book which introduces the language student to Tamil linguistics and which at the same time offers within a compact space, enough materials for a correct appreciation of Tamil literature. The author takes extracts from 22 sources, 6 representing Old Tamil, 9 Middle Tamil, and 7 New Tamil. In the preface he gives a list of these works with short notes on each and discusses briefly the historical development of the Tamil language under the heads of Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semasiology. Although these discussions lack the full spirit of modern linguistic science and contain some of the old irresponsible expressions like “organs of production” for obviously the more correct “places of articulation”, etc., they give indeed a birds-eye-view of Tamil linguistics from the earliest to modern times.

We might say here that even to speak of ‘the places of articulation’ is scientifically inaccurate. That was why G. Oscar Russell, the great pioneer of X-Ray investigations as applied to speech, was, in his “Speech and Voice” (New York, Macmillan & Co., 1931, p. 4), led on to ascertain the forms and sizes of human speech cavities as also the position and relative relationship of the various physiological organs which actually appear when producing certain speaking resultants. As against the view of the traditional grammarians in regard to this matter, the modern accepted notion is : “The physiological characteristic of an act of speech is that it occurs in a specific locus of the human body : the respiratory tract and the mouth, rarely (as in esophageal speech) the stomach....If a cross-section be taken of the stream of speech at a given moment each of the organs concerned is seen to have at that moment a specific functional status : a moment later the situation would be different. Obviously the different organs do not change from



one functional status to another always at the same moment; the statuses overlap." (Vide C. F. Hockett—System of Descriptive Phonology—Language, Vol. XVIII, 1942, pp. b and 5).<sup>1</sup>

In the text the Roman transliteration of the passages selected, their *anvaya* and general meaning are all very useful. But the omission to give word meanings in the body of the text itself is a serious handicap to the beginner, and the fact that some words are explained makes the position no better. True, the meanings are given in the vocabulary at the end of the text, but the difficulty of referring to it, especially for a beginner with no sure knowledge of the Tamil alphabet, can hardly be exaggerated.

The grammatical discussions are fairly thorough and clear, though in places they are unnecessarily pedantic and repetitive. For instance, the dropping of the seventh case-ending —*Kan*, and the formation of some of the compound forms. The using of the Tamil grammatical terms such as *cāriyai*, *palarpāl*, etc. without explaining them at the commencement of the text, assumes some previous knowledge of the language and its grammar on the part of the student.

The author makes a very controversial statement when he says (p. 79) on the strength of a slender evidence supplied by one or two orthographical peculiarities, that medial surds were never voiced as far as the 13th century and that later on they began to be voiced, with an implied suggestion that they are now given *only* a voiced value. Both parts of the statement are rather rash; we cannot by mere ear-judgment say whether medial surds are voiced today to such an extent as to justify their being written in transliteration with the symbols for the corresponding sonants. It is a problem par excellence for the instrumental phonetician. The question of fortis and lenis

1. The form of the vocal cavity is regulated by movements of the muscles, which are not and never can be still for an instant. There can be only vowel movements and never vowel positions, (cf. E. W. Scripture: The Nature of the vowels, Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Expérimentale, 7, 1932, p. 68.)

Also cf. Stetson's view that speech is rather a set of movements made audible than a set of sounds produced by movements. (Stetson: ANPE, 3, 1928, p. 29.)

character of these sounds crops up here. A correct view can be taken only when laboratory investigations similar to those on Verner's law are carried out, involving as it does the moot problem of syllabic division. (cf. R. A. William's paper, the Phonetical explanations of Verner's law. *The Modern Language Review* II, Cambridge University Press, 1909, pp. 233-252, especially p. 242 ).

The Reader would be much more useful is more passages were added to the text ; as it is they are too meagre to give any clear idea of the historial development of the Tamil language.

The transliteration with diacritics, it is a pleasure to note, is remarkably free from errors ( save for one or two slips ) and the printing and the get-up of the book, considering war-time conditions are quite satisfactory. We hope that in a second edition, the author would give the benefit of his vast erudition to his readers by amplifying the texts and also citing parallel forms in the other Dravidian languages for at least the important grammatical points.

C. R. SANKARAN  
AND A. C. SEKHAR

वासिष्ठवैभवम्—**Vāsiṣṭhavaibhavam**—By T. V. Kapal Shastri, published by S. P. Pandit, Advocate, Sirsi, North Kanara. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review is a biography written in easy and graceful Sanskrit. It contains a brief outline of the life of Vāsiṣṭha Gaṇapati Muni, otherwise known as Kavya Kanth Gaṇapati Shastri—a sage, a poet, a speaker and a mystic philosopher of South India. In the nine chapters into which the book is divided, the life history of this great man extending over fifty-eight eventful years (1878 A.D. to 1936 A.D.) has been given by the author Kapal Shastri who is a devoted disciple of Vasiṣṭha Gaṇapati Muni. One or two outstanding features of this work will strike the notice of even a superficial observer. The book is an admixture of biography and auto-biography ! Gaṇapati Muni himself who had a wonderful command over Sanskrit Prose and Verse—has left much auto-biographical account, and that has been freely quoted in the book with a few remarks here and

there by the biographer either to furnish a connecting link or to suppliment it. But it must be noted with satisfaction that the patches attached to the original account of the Guru by his disciple are by no means inferior in literary grace.

The second thing is that although both the Guru and the disciple belong to the twentieth century the so-called modern age of Science, they appear to live in bygone days when supernatural forces were believed to govern and guide human life in all its entirety. This supernatural or mystic atmosphere in which the book is steeped from one end to the other—though it suits both the mystic philosophy of the Muni and the Sanskrit garb, will not, one is afraid, make a strong appeal to a modern reader with a bit of rationalism in him. But that is only by the bye. The chief merit of the book is that it affords a very interesting reading from cover to cover and the reader has the pleasure of being in the company of a very great poetic and philosophic mind. One has also the gratification of noting that the great traditions of ancient India in inspired Sanskrit composition and mystic communion with higher powers are kept up even in the modern age. The book is written in Sanskrit which was the lingua franca of the learned in ancient India and which continues to be so even now. It will, therefore, be read and appreciated by Pandits all over India. We extend to this delightful book a very hearty welcome.

K. N. WATVE

**Rāgavibodha of Somanātha** with his own commentary Viveka—Edited by late Pandit S. Subramanya Sastri with an introduction by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, Adyar Library Series No. 48. Price Rs. 6.

Here is an excellent edition of a very important work on Indian Music written in chaste Sanskrit in 1609 A.C. Neither of the two editions mentioned by Prof. Raja in his preface to the work were accessible to me. As compared with Mr. Gharpure's text (Poona, 1895) the present edition marks a definite improvement. It is well printed and relatively free from mistakes and the editor was at pains to understand the text and the notation system and to print them correctly. This is high praise indeed.

The few misprints and the fewer mistakes noted by me are given below :

62	1.	5	तस्मात् is correct.
81	19	°चतुःपंच°	„
82	1	खरसाङ्गाः	„
94	10	( 42 )	„
97	8	सरिपध	„
97	13	शुचि समपा	„
99	8	259	„
131	7	पूर्वे	„
131	20	चपरं	„
137	9	°मगैमध° ( ग with कम्पद्वय )	„
230	1	विकृतस्वराणां पञ्चदशभेदाः	„
231	17-27	the first figure must be 1	

I have to suggest the following improvement. The numbering in the edn. is consecutive for all प्रस्तार together but the commentary presupposes a separate numbering for each प्रस्तार which therefore should be given in addition to the consecutive numbering ; cf. p. 94 तार्दामेल is 57 from the beginning, but is mentioned in the commentary as No. 42 in the द्विभेदप्रस्तार कणाटगोड which is 624 from beginning is 259 in the commentary and so on.

The real defect of the edition consists in its not having given a critical apparatus for the text. Gharpure's edition for instance, furnishes variants for the Śāṅkarābharāṇa melody in one or two essential points. On p. 132, l. 16 we have षाशशशर वि, on p. 137, l. 5 we have घ, after the first 1, in l. 6 the आ° figures after ७ and not १. The कम्पद्वय after ६ in l. 7 is not noted there. This happens to be the case in so many places that we should like to know what the text of the different available mss. is, and form our own conclusions.

The work attracted the notice of Sir W. Jones as early as 1807 when he gave a summary of it in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. III and also a reproduction of a part of the notation.

As regards the Introduction, I am afraid I do not see eye to eye with Dr. Raja in some important respects. He writes in the Preface (v) "Little attempt till now has been made to understand and interpret the Śruti and Svāra scheme of ancient Indian

Music." Deval, Bhatkhande, P. R. Bhandarkar and Achrekar have written on the subject and my paper on this subject was published in the Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference of 1919. The first 32 pages of his introduction reproduce at length the contents of Chapter I of the Rāgavibodha, which is the least original part of it, and then he passes hurriedly over the next for chapters which contain several original features and are very valuable for the purposes of a correct understanding of the old music. In two places, pp. ix. xxxix, he maintains that the book has no practical value for modern Music us though a work which affords unique help in enabling us to understand the history of the modern music and its ramifications under two different traditions has no value for modern music. It gives us tables of Svaras which enable us to calculate their exact mathematical values and it gives a method of notation for the old music which is unique and which enables us to see it in flesh and blood. The introduction is, however, likely to be very useful to a beginner and Dr. Raja has pointed out the main differences between the Saṅgīta Ratnākara and the Rāgavibodha. His observations on p. xxvi about the Śuddha and on xxviii on Gāndhāra-grāma are disputable.

V. G. PARANJPE

**Ātman (In Pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature) :—**By H. G. Narahari, M.A., M. Litt., Adyar Library Series, 1944. Rs. 8/-.

This excellent thesis, for which the degree of Master of Letters was awarded by the University of Madras, is now published in the form of a book in the well-known Adyar Library Series. It embodies the results of the author's thorough investigation of the problem of Ātman in the Pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature along the lines suggested by his teacher, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras. The volume consists of twelve chapters, the first five being devoted to a careful discussion of the nature of Ātman, its relation to Brahman, and its destiny. The next three chapters deal with the problem of the relation between man and God. In Chap. IX the author has shown that the sources of the Upaniṣadic philosophy are to be found in the

Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa literature. The Vedic views about Transmigration, Sin and Hell are considered in chapters X and XI; and chapter XII contains the author's concluding remarks.

Throughout the discussion, the author has cited appropriate passages from Vedic literature in support of his views. His treatment of problems in sympathetic and critical and never dogmatic. He has laid great stress on the authenticity and the continuous character of Indian tradition. His criticism is mainly directed against Max Müller and Garbe and many of their followers, both Indian and Western. Max Müller marked the stages of philosophical growth out of theology and religion as polytheism, henotheism, monotheism and monism. According to Garbe, theology and ritualism was the contribution of the Brahmins while philosophy was the contribution of the Kṣatriyas. The author speaks approvingly of the standpoint of Charpentier, Oertel and Edgerton. He asserts that all the ideas that go to make the sublime philosophy of the Upaniṣads had a definite background in the Samhitās, especially in the Ṛgveda, and that the Brahmins were as much the originators of Upaniṣadic thought as the Kṣatriyas. In an over-enthusiastic estimate of the grandeur of Upaniṣadic philosophy, he advises us, we should not belittle the philosophical importance of the contribution made by the Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa literature. The Pre-Upaniṣadic age was not an age of mere prayers and hymns and rituals and henotheistic polytheism; but it was an age in which there was a vigorous philosophical activity.

Mr. Narhari's book deserves a more elaborate and critical review; but here we have to rest content with this short notice. We sincerely congratulate the author on his creditable performance and warmly recommend the book to all our readers.

N. G. DAMLE

**Muktāphala** of Vopadeva with Kaivalyadīpikā of Hemādri  
Edited by Prof. D. Bhattacharya, M.A. Dm. pp. 50,324. Calcutta  
Sk. Sr. No. 5. Calcutta, 1944. Rs. 6/-.

The Muktāphala is a treatise on the Bhakti cult and consists of about 800 stanzas culled from the Bhāgavata. The stanzas are rearranged into four chapters, each divided into several sections. Prof. Bhattacharya has brought out this revised

edition of an earlier one of 1920. For this edition he has also used two transcripts of MSS. which were not utilized for the first edition. The Kaivalyadipikā is a very lucid commentary which brings the understanding of the grand and sublime verses of the Bhāgavata within easy reach of a man with an average knowledge of Sanskrit.

In the Introduction the editor has given a brief summary of the contents and an account of the author and the commentator, and has also discussed the problem of the authorship of the compilation and of the commentary at length. It is pointed out, on the strength of internal and external evidence, that not only is Vopadeva the author of the compilation but "there are strong grounds for the inference that the commentary also is a work of Vopadeva and not of Hemādri, though it is attributed to the latter." The compilation and the commentary are assigned to the last quarter of the 13th century A.D.

An interesting and valuable feature of this edition is the 'Prefatory Dissertation' by Dr. N. N. Law. He has sketched the main features of Bhakti in the Bhāgavata with occasional glances at the connected issues. He has drawn the outlines of the entire psycho-historical side of Bhakti so that its portion in the Bhāgavata or the Muktaḥala might be seen in relation to the whole. He says, "The path of Bhakti is smoother than any other on account of the little demand made by it on any technical knowledge, or arduous acts on the part of the devotee."

The title मुक्ताफल is significant. The भागवतपुराण is the mother-of-pearl and out of it comes this well-chisaled and precious jewel; स्वाति water here is Bhatki. Compare,

मुक्ताफलेन ग्रन्थेन सद्भागवतशुक्तिना ।

भक्तिस्वात्म्यम्बुना सुधमार्कण्डेयशिशुश्रिया ॥

Or it may be explained as मुचां भावो मुक्ता सा फलं यत्र ग्रन्थे तत्तथा । i.e. the giver of liberation to the devotees. Cf. कैवल्य-दीपिका, "मौक्तिकं करकलितं हृदयार्पितं वा सर्वस्यात्मप्रसाधनाय तथेदमपीति रूपकार्थः ।"

The modern Viṣṇuite Hinduism is professed by at least 150 millions of the inhabitants of India. This shows the

popularity of the Bhakti cult. The aim of Bhakti is to enable man to be conscious of the tie between God and himself, to convert it into an actuality. The value and importance, therefore, of the works like the भागवत and the मुक्ताफल which preach the doctrine of Bhakti is beyond doubt.

V. G. RAHURKAR

**Sāmāyikapāṭha** :—Edited by R. N. Shah. Published by A. B. Magdum, Shri Vira Granthamālā, Sangli, 1945. Cr. Pp. 31. Price 0-4-0.

The Sāmāyika is one of the twelve vows of a Jain Layman and it consists of meditation and contemplation on the nature of Self. But it does not seem to be obligatory to the Jain Asatics ; for, as observed by Mrs. R. L. Stevenson, "in many of the Śvetāmbara sects a Sādhu performs Sāmāyika at the time of his initiation and never again."

This booklet contains three Sāmāyika texts, two in Sanskrit (one by Ācārya Amitagati and the other, anonymous) and one in Hindi (by Mahacandra). Mr. Shah has rendered useful service to such of his lay-brethren as do not know Sanskrit or Hindi by translating them into Marathi. Though these texts are primarily intended for the Jains, by reason of their sublime philosophical contents they are well worth a perusal of non-Jains also. Mr. P. K. Gode's short but learned Introduction clearly brings out the importance of prayer and the *sāmāyika* to a follower of any religion. It is a great pity that this booklet should be disfigured by an extremely large number of misprints, particularly in the Sanskrit portion.

N. A. G.

**Thus Spake Vivekananda** :—Published by Sri Rama-Krishna Math, Mylapore, Madras, 1945. Pp. 59. Price 0-8-0.

In this booklet the inspiring and ennobling thoughts of Shri Vivekananda, the great teacher of renascent Hinduism are re-arranged in six sections viz. Strength, Service, Self-control, Sacrifice, Faith and the Call to India. It also contains two short poems : A Benediction and A prayer, and six excerpts from his other poems.

N. A. G.



**Triphalā**—By Ramesh Bedi, Āyurvedālankāra. Published by the Vijñāna Pariṣad, Prayāga (Allahabad). 2nd Edn. 1944. Pocket size Pp. 208. Price Rs. 2-4-0.

The Vijñāna Pariṣad of Allahabad has published more than 30 books in Hindi on a variety of Mathematical, Astronomical, Medical and Scientific subjects and is also bringing out a monthly Journal in Hindi devoted to Scientific and Technological studies, called the *Vijñāna*. The book under review presents a learned and scientific study of the three most widely used ingredients of the Indian *materia medica* viz. *hirḍā*, *baheḍā* and *āmalā* which are collectively known as *triphalā*. First each of the three substances mentioned above is taken up separately and it is described in a thorough-going manner under suitable heads viz. the names and their explanations, habitat, formal description, varieties, medicinally useful portion, dose, chemical analysis, medicinal properties, and medical preparations as laid down in ancient medical treatises. Finally the *triphalā* also receives a similar treatment. The author has quoted the original texts in Sanskrit in foot-notes. The book can be safely recommended as an authoritative text-book on the subject of *triphalā* for the language though precise is lucid and even a non-Hindi reader with a modicum knowledge of Hindi will be able to fully understand it. We heartily congratulate the learned author for the scientific and exhaustive treatment accorded to the subject and hope that the voluminous work on Indian *Materia Medica* ( *Bhāratīya-Dravya-Guṇa* ) which he has prepared will soon see the light of the day. N. A. G.

**Iconography of Śrī Vidyārṇava Tantra**—By S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri M.A. Published by the author. Bangalore. 1944. Pp. 46. Rs. 1/-.

Mr. Śāstri has made a painstaking survey of the enclopaedic Tantrik Work Śrī Vidyārṇava Tantra and has brought together in this small book all the iconographic material in it. As the arrangement is analytical and concise it will serve as a useful guide in making similar studies of like material in other Tantras. It would have been much better if the author had given references to the text of the Vidyārṇava Tantra after each deity.

N. A. G.

**The Heart of Bhāgavatam** :—By S. S. Rao B.A. Cr. pp. vi, 180. Published by the author. Tirupati. Price Re. 1-4-0.

Of all the 18 Purāṇas, the *Bhāgavata* enjoys a unique popularity among the orthodox people of India ; and to bring its spiritual message within easy reach of all, a number of adaptation and abridgments of it are written. Śrī Jayatīrtha Svāmin alias Viṣṇutīrtha (1756 A. D.—1806 A. D.) selected 365 stanzas from the *Bhāgavata* and re-arranged them into 30 sections and wrote a commentary on them hoping that the study and contemplation on the meaning of each stanza a day would lead the reader on to the noble path of Devotion to God. Mr. Rao who was a Deputy Collector gave a good account of his leisure hours by bringing out in 1928 a Telugu translation of these stanzas accompanied by a running commentary in Telugu based on that of Viṣṇutīrtha ; and this original Telugu *Bhāgavata Hridayam* was rendered by him into English in 1931 under the title : the *Heart of Bhāgavatam*. The Preface gives the central idea of the teaching of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and a summary of the present work. The lucid English translation and explanatory comments are indeed very helpful to understand the main spiritual teaching of the *Bhāgavata*.

N. A. G.

**Mudrārākṣasa pūrva-Saṅkathānaka** by Anantaśarman. Edited by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma M.A., D. Litt. Ganga Or. Sr. No. 3. Bikaner, 1945. Dm. Pp. 20, 14, 58.

There Sanskrit versions of the events leading up to the story of the celebrated historical drama, the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, by Mādhava, Ravinartaka and Dhunḍirāja were known hitherto. The present volume contains two more viz. the *Mudrārākṣasa-pūrva-saṅkathānaka* of Anantaśarman, printed here as the main text and the anonymous *M.-nāṭaka-pūrva-pīṭhikā* given in the Appendix. It would have been better had the name of the latter work also been indicated on the cover-page.

The credit of re-discovering these two works goes to Dr. C. Kunhan Raja who reorganised the valuable MSS. library at Bikaner. His Prefatory Note includes among other things a formal description of the two MSS. of the first and a MS. of the other work. In his Foreword the Scholar Prime Minister

of Bikaner, Sardar Panikkar makes a few critical remarks about the style and the historical value of the two works, and the learned Introduction of Dr. Sharma gives a summary of the two works and a brief account of Anantśarman, and discusses the historical value of these two versions and the sources of the Nanda-Cāpakya stories. Dr. Sharma amply deserves thanks for this excellent edition. It is admirably suited for being prescribed as a supplementary text in Sanskrit in the Matriculation and First Year Arts classes of our Universities.

N. A. G.

**Bhagavad-Gītā** chs. 1 and 2 with an English Translation. Edited by Pandit S. D. Satwalekar, Svadhyaya Mandal, Aundh, Dt. Satara. Cr. Pp. ch. 1, 112; ch. 2, 303. Price Re. one each.

Pandit Satwalekar, like the late Lokamanya Tilak, and Mahatma Gandhi has pondered over the deep philosophical teaching of the Gītā and according to his lights he is firmly convinced that the Gītā is not a text-book merely for the old spiritual aspirants but it is mainly intended for the young and rising generations of India. Its dynamic activism if put in practice, will bring about an all round betterment of our life on earth. In his opinion the teachings of the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and the Gītā are identical in purport; and to demonstrate this he wrote in 1933 a new and exhaustive commentary in Marathi on the Gītā called the *Puruṣārtha bodhinī*. The original exposition of Pandit Satwalekar enjoyed such wide popularity as it was translated into Hindi, Gujarati and Kannad. He is now bringing it out in English translation and it is hoped that those who cannot follow the original commentary in Marathi will avail themselves of this English translation to study carefully the new view-point put forth by Pandit Satwalekar in this interpretation of the Gītā.

N. A. G.

**Saṅgītaratnākara** (Vol. I Ch. 1). Translated by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Adyar Library Series No. 51. Adyar. 1945. Dn. pp. 175. Price Rs. 4.

The *Saṅgītaratnākara* is the most important work in music and the first four chapters of the text with two commentaries

of Kallinātha and Simhabhūpala have been published so far in the Adyar Library Series (Nos. 30 and 43). And now is being offered the English translation of the same. But this is not a mere literal translation of the text. Dr. Raja has prepared a very careful translation of the text with important notes and explanations. He has steadily kept before him the needs of both the types of readers viz those who are only interested in the subject of music and would be content with a free rendering into English and those who want to study the original text more closely with the help of a translation. Considering the technical nature of the subject, Dr. Raja has achieved such a striking success in meeting the needs of these two types of readers that we have nothing but the highest praise for his excellent work. The typography and general get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired and all credit for this goes to the Vasanta Press, Adyar.

N. A. G.

**Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law**—By Dr. L. Sternbach, Ph. D.

Dr. Sternbach is an eminent Polish Indologist and he has made a special and searching study of Ancient Indian Law and Indian Culture.

During his enforced stay in India since the outbreak of the Second World War, he has published about 18 Papers in Indian Journal and his particularly deep study of the ancient Indian Law becomes evident when it is noted that 14 of these relate to it in some way or the other. In this review of these papers, which is informative rather than critical full justice cannot be done to his valuable contribution to the subject of ancient Indian Law. In six of these, he deals with Principles of Law in ancient Indian Law, subjects of Law and Law of Family acc. to Yājñavalkya, the Harmonising of Law with the requirements of Economic Conditions acc. to the Ancient Indian Dharma-, Artha-śāstras and Gṛhya-sūtras, similar social and legal Institutions in ancient India and ancient Mexico, early Buddhistic jurisprudence and a sociological study of the forms of marriage in ancient India. The remaining eight papers have

appeared under the general title : Juridical Studies in Ancient India. In three of them he deals with five out of the eight forms of Indian marriages viz the Ārṣa, the Āsura, the Rākṣasa, the Paiśāca and the Gāndharva, and in another he deals with the Reciprocal responsibility for debts contracted by married people. Two papers study the subject of pledge, and the legal relations between employers and employees in ancient India. Legal protection of plants in ancient India and legal responsibility of physicians in ancient India for carelessness in medical treatment are the two papers which we have read with the greatest interest.

All these papers present almost a complete study of the particular subjects dealt with in them and reflect great industry and research acumen of the author. He has ransacked a wide range of ancient Indian Dharmaśāstra works, the Epics and the Purāṇas and has given in foot-notes pointed references to original texts in support of his statements. The collocation of details and their orderly presentation are highly commendable. We congratulate Dr. Sternbach on his methodical and illuminating papers on different topics in ancient Indian Law and would like to point out that it would be highly desirable if he brings them together in one volume with a subject index.

N. A. G.

**Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadrāsūri**—Edited by Śhrī Jinavijaya Muni, with a critical study by Dr. A. N. Upadhye. Published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1944. Pp. 24, 56, 68. Price Rs. 5-8-0.

The Dhūrtākhyāna of Haribhadrāsūri (8 c. A. D.) is an interesting specimen of religions propaganda literature. "It is a story of five rogues each of whom recounts an impossible, fantastical experience which is confirmed by one or the other colleague after quoting parallels from the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana etc." and thus the absurdities and incongruities in the Hindu Epics and Purāṇic legends are exposed. The work must have been found very useful by the Jain teachers who sought to make new converts to their faith.

Śrī Jinavijayaji amply deserves to be congratulated for bringing out this *editio princeps* of this important work in all the

three versions of it that are so far known viz. the Prākṛit text of Haribhadrāsūri, its Sanskrit version by Saṅghatilakācārya and the anonymous Old-Gujarātī prose rendering. The two later are not the translations of the Prakrit original but they follow it very closely. The value of the edition is highly enhanced by the scholarly 'critical study' by Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye, which in its seven sections presents a thorough study of the work, which includes 'Purpose, technique and form', and the 'Prakrit Dialect and style of Dhūrtākhyāna'. There are two Indexes of Proper Names and Quotations in the Dhūrtākhyāna. It may be suggested that in the next edition two more Indexes of stanzas in the Prakrit and Sanskrit versions also should be added.

N. A. G.

**Jagadvijayacchandās of Kavindrācārya**—Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja the Ganga Oriental Sr. No. 2. Bikaner, 1945. Dm. Pp. 57, 163.

In this volume the text of the *Jagadvijayacchandās* is edited for the first time, in its two recensions along with commentaries. The texts of both these recensions are also continuously given in the Appendixes and the Index of Words with their meanings is very useful; for the main interest of the work lies in the use of many words in their rare or obscure meanings which would have remained illegible to many readers but for the commentaries which lucidly explain them by constant references to the sūtras of Pāṇini and the lexicons like Amara, Viśva and others. The *Jagadvijayacchandās* is a song in *Daṇḍaka metre*. The long recension is nothing but a string of rhyming vocatives and is divided into 6 sections. The short recension in 9 sections at least contains a single sentence : जय जय धीन...पाहि स्वकजनमेतं भक्तिरुमेतम्, though this too is mostly made up of vocatives referring to Śiva. The work is written by Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī and covertly praises Emperor Jahangir (Jagad-vijaya) as has been explained in detail in the valuable Introduction by Raja who must be warmly congratulated for this careful edition of this complicated text.

N. A. G.

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(*This work is to be published upto Navānhika and subsequent 5 Pts are under preparation. The first 2 parts of I and II Anvikas published in 1941 and 1944 are available for Rs. 1-4 and Rs. 2-8 respectively.*)

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